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IN THE TEXT OF THE DIVINE OFFICE.
A study of the manuscript fragments of the breviaries kept in the Riksarkivet from the 12th to the 15th century.

MASTER THESIS
IN
NORDIC VIKING AND MEDIEVAL CULTURE

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“*And he said unto me, Son of man, can these* parchments *live?*
And I answered, O Lord GOD, thou knowest.”
Apud Ezekiel 37, 3.

Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of the Norwegian liturgy of the Divine Office based on the text of the fragmented manuscripts of the breviaries kept in the Riksarkivet from the 12th to the 15th century. The liturgical texts of 51 fragments were analysed and, through the use of the comparative method, parallels were traced with their Continental and Insular counterparts. The targets of this comparison were: to relate the church in Norway to the liturgical production of European Christendom, identifying the roots of the liturgy contained in the fragments studied; and to analyse how the integration between liturgical material developed locally and those from abroad took place. To answer such questions, this study considered the idea of cultural exchanges between multiple centres of liturgical production, whose relationship could be traced in the diverse influences and presences verified in the manuscript material.

Resumo

A presente dissertação apresenta uma análise da liturgia do Ofício Divino, baseada nos textos dos manuscritos fragmentários de breviários do século XII ao XV, preservados no Arquivo Real da Noruega, em Oslo. Os textos litúrgicos dos 51 fragmentos foram analisados através do método comparativo, de forma que paralelos foram traçados entre eles e seus pares continentais e insulares. O objetivo dessa comparação foi: relacionar a Igreja na Noruega medieval aos centros de produção litúrgica na cristandade européia, identificando onde estão lançadas as raízes da liturgia contida nos fragmentos analisados; e analisar como se deu a integração entre os materiais litúrgicos desenvolvidos localmente e os demais, vindos de fora. Para responder a tais questões, foi considerada a teoria das trocas culturais entre múltiplos centros de produção litúrgica, cuja relação pôde ser detectada nas diversas influências e presenças verificadas no material analisado.

Riassunto

Questa tesi presenta un'analisi della liturgia in base al testi dei manoscritti frammentati dei breviari conservati nel Riksarkivet, dal secolo XI al secolo XV. I testi liturgici di 51 frammenti sono stati analizzati, e tra l'uso del metodo comparativo, sono stati rintracciati paralleli con le loro controparti continentale e insulare. Gli obiettivi di questo confronto sono stati: riguardare la chiesa in Norvegia per la produzione liturgica della cristianità europea individuando dove sono le radici della liturgia di frammenti sono studiati qui e, analizzare come è stata l'integrazione tra il materiale liturgico sviluppato localmente e quelli esteri. Per rispondere a queste domande è stato considerato l'idea degli scambi culturali tra molteplici centri di produzione liturgica, il cui rapporto può essere tracciato nelle diverse influenze e le presenze verificate nel materiale manoscritto.

Beskrivelse

Denne avhandlingen presenterer en analyse av liturgi. Den er basert på tekster av fragmenterte manuskripter av breviarer – fra 1100-tallet til 1400-tallet – som er å finne i det norske Riksarkivet. De liturgiske tekstene bestående av 51 fragmenter er analysert og gjennom bruken av komparative metoder, ble det sporet paralleller til kontinentale liturgiske tekster. Målet med sammenligningen var: å relatere kirken i Norge til den liturgiske produksjonen av europeisk kristendom, ved å identifisere hvor røttene til det liturgiske innholdet i fragmentene som ble studert; og analysere hvordan integreringen fungerte mellom liturgisk materiale produsert lokalt og de produsert i utlandet. For å svare på disse spørsmålene valgte jeg å se på ideen av kulturell utveksling mellom flere steder for liturgisk produksjon, hvor forholdet kunne spores gjennom forskjellige påvirkninger og tilstedeværelser bekreftet i manuskriptmateriale.

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INTRODUCTION

This is a study about the liturgical fragments of breviaries kept in the Riksarkivet in Oslo as part of the medieval history of the church in Norway, not a customary study of ecclesiastical history based on administrative documents produced by the church in its many forms or by the normally surrounding protagonists, such as nobles, monarchy, land owners, etc. I invite the reader to join this understanding of the church in Norway based on a very common, and yet, not very studied kind of source: the medieval liturgical fragments, namely, the remnants of breviaries. Traditionally, the studies of the liturgical books are understood as the study of liturgical history, normally the argumentation is that in order to understand why Christian faith is celebrated in this or that way today, one must know the origin and development of each particular liturgical practice; that's the standard view of liturgists and theologians, and even of some church historians. However, here, despite this valid approach to the sources, I am going to deal with them in a slightly different way, looking for the links and clues they may provide about the Church in Norway. As the main objective of this thesis, I seek, in the material, the chains of influence that shaped the way the church in Norway used to celebrate from the XII to the XV century.

Texts and liturgical practices were transformed while being transmitted by individuals or groups, crossing lands and seas to Scandinavia. There are many variations in the texts of the fragments which are going to be analyzed. Many of them are transplanted from their original place of production, and this changing of their conjuncture and context, relocated from various areas of Europe to the fringes of the Christendom, affected, at least, the way they were transmitted. However, even with such modifications, the liturgy they bear is still, in general, a reasonably secure way to identify their origin. Although the specific study of the texts variations in the fragments could constitute another important scholarly enterprise, in order to recognize the level of penetration of the Latin written culture in Norway, this is not going to be specifically approached here. For this thesis, we propose the following questions:

1 – To relate the church in Norway to the liturgical production of the texts for the Divine Office of the European Christendom and identify where the roots of the liturgy are laid, with the understanding that this written religious culture arrived in Norway from different European liturgical contexts;

2 – To analyse how the integration between liturgical material developed in Norway and those from abroad took place.

To meet the problems posed by this approach and to answer such questions, this study considered the analysis of cultural exchanges, initiated in the course of the studies of philology and literature in Germany[1] and France[2], in the 19th century. These studies[3] accentuated the mechanisms of transmission and the processes of importation (and exportation) and interaction (among Western countries) marked by the bilateral analysis[4], looking at the transmitter and the receptor. The process of editing and publishing a text, whichever modality it takes, is always collective and requires numerous protagonists, and this process is also a way to transmit the text. When it comes to the study of the liturgical texts, this process is even more evident, because normally the idea of authorship for such materials is absolutely non-existent. Their transmission over time and space was a never-ending sequence of active and passive influences. The fragmentary sources which survive to this day are authentic ones, and hence, this is a research about what they may tell about the Church where they were used. That is why the history of such fragments is inseparable from the history of those communities that performed liturgical acts with and from them.

> "When used in regard to liturgical texts, the words "authentic", "interpolated", or "modified" do not have the same meaning as they do when they are employed in regard to other forms of literature. […] In the case of liturgical texts, what is authentic is what was actually used for divine worship. No matter how much a text has been interpolated, enlarged or pruned, it is completely authentic if once utilized in an actual liturgy"[5]

In this study, I consider not only two focal points, based on the idea of a centre and peripheral zone, in which the centre solely transmitted and the periphery passively received its influence. Instead, I do acknowledge the idea of a Europe with multiple centres and multiple peripheries, related to liturgical production and no real centre at all,

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[1] *cf.* LÜSEBRINK, Jürgen. *Interkulturelle Kommunikation. Interaktion, Fremdwahrnehmung, Kulturtransfer.* Stuttgart: JB Metzler, 2005.
[2] *Passim.* BERGER, Peter L. and LUCKMANN, Thomas. *The Social Construction of Reality*. Garden City (USA): Anchor Books, 1996.
[3] *Passin*. ALLEN, Graham. *Intertextuality*. London: Routledge, 2000.
[4] RODRIGUES, H. and KOHLER, Heliane Maria. *Travessias e cruzamentos culturais: a mobilidade em questão.* Rio de Janeiro: FGV, 2008. p. 14-15
[5] VOGEL, Cyrille. *Medieval Liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources*. Portland: Pastroal Press, 1986. p. 63.

but, perhaps, Rome. Perhaps, because not even the normative power of Rome was ever stable or indisputable in Latin Christendom. As it will be demonstrated in the first part of this text, Rome wanted to be, but never was the sole centre of Christianity in Europe.

The idea of cultural transfer applied in this study of the fragments of breviaries inserted in the liturgical history of Norway presupposes the relationship among unequal and asymmetric centres of liturgical production with relative autonomy. The method used to understand the passage of the liturgy from one place to the other starts in the exposition of the historical context of this thesis' timeframe, starting with the pontificate of Gregorio VII (1073-1085); covering the emergence of Cistercians, whose origin lies in the foundation of the Abbey of Cîteaux, in Burgundy, by Robert de Molesme, in 1098; the appearance of the mendicant orders, under St. Francesco d'Assisi (1182-1226) and St. Domingo de Guzmán (1170-1221); the monasticism inspired by Cluny, founded in 909; and gothic Christianity.

In a liturgical sense, for example, the transmission of Roman liturgy to Gallican territories may be referred: The Old Gelasian Sacramentary[6] is the popular name of the Vatican manuscripts *Reginensis latinus 316*. Besides being the oldest and most complete extant manuscript of a Roman Sacramentary, it is also considered to be Frankish-Roman hybrid liturgical production. The Roman origin can not be denied, since it bears prominent features of the typical stationary liturgy of Rome and was used there during much of the 7th and 8th centuries, but it was not extensively confined to Rome alone. It was carried to Gaul and widely used there, at least until 750, when *Reginensis latinus 316* was copied. We do not know who first brought it to Gaul, but in any case, it was widely circulated and was one of the main forces for the Romanization of this area. Its text is a remarkable witness of the Roman rite being re-worked north of the Alps, replete of additions and interpolations of non-Roman practices, until the mid 8th century, date of the only surviving manuscript of this particular tradition[7].

Also, in the administrative meaning, the interactions between Rome and the other sees of the Latin Church were far more complex than a simplistic understanding of the idea of *centre x periphery*. In Church History, non-conformity with all the

[6] *Cf.* MARTELLI, Alfio Massimo. *Sacramentario gelasiano, Cod. Vat. Reg. Lat. 316: Primo testimone completo dell'esperimento della Liturgia Romana nella Gallia Precarolingia.* Trento: Vita Trentina Editrice, 2003.
[7] VOGEL, Cyrille. *Medieval liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources.* Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986. pp. 68-70.

determinations of Rome was the norm and not the exception, so, precisely because of this, the reform of the papacy from the time of Gregorio VII (1073-1085) was much needed and re-preached for more than 100 years, until the Holy See assumed, under Innocentius III (1198-1216), a real powered and centred position in Western Christianity.

Curiously, part of the historiography dealing with the history of the Church in Norway sometimes tends not to underline that the Church of Norway was part of the Latin Christendom for more than five centuries and that this very same Church was deeply involved in all the intellectual, devotional, controversial and many other trends of the *Ecclesiæ Universalis.*[8] Because of this, the explicit or implicit attempts of a number of authors to see a more independent Church are taken with care in this research, as the sources analysed here allow another approach: that the church in Norway was deeply connected to all the newest trends of the liturgical manners of its time, as well as it was to the ideals of the Gregorian reform[9]. Secondly, it is understandable that, from the very first moment of the conversion, followed by the consolidation of the first kind of church organization, the king was virtually the only leader that the church in Norway knew[10]. However, the erection of Nidaros as an archiepiscopal see, in 1153, as the apex of the Christianization process, a crucially important moment of the realm's integration in Christian Europe, helped to make the church much less dependent from the king and more Roman than before. In this process, the churchmen were the main agents, but not the only ones[11]. The connection between the Shrine of St. Olav and Rome was constant and strong, and I would dare to say that there was a closer connection between the north of Norway and the papacy, in some periods, than between Nidaros and its neighbour Lund. From Joannes Birgisson

[8] For many examples of the connections among the Church in Norway, the Roman See and many other parts of the Latin Christendom, *cf.* FRANCE, James. *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*. Kalamazoo (USA): Cistercian Publications, 1992. GJERLØW, Lili. *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (Orðubók).* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968. BAGGE, Sverre. *From Viking Stronghold to Christian Kingdom*. Compenhagem: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2010. BEREND, Nora (ed.). *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy. Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900-1200.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

[9] SANMARK, Alessandra. *Power and Conversion – A Comparative Study of Christianization in Scandinavia*. Department of Archaeology and Ancient History: Uppsala, 2004. p. 107.

[10] SKRE, Dagfinn. *Missionary Activity in Early Medieval Norway. Strategy, Organization and the Course of Events.* In: Scandinavia Journal of History, 23:1-2. Longon: Routledge, 1998. p.13.

[11] HELLE, Knut. *The Cambridge History of Scandinavia. Volume I, Prehistory to 1520*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. p. 159, 198.

down to Olaf Engelbertson[12], almost all the archbishops of Nidaros went to Rome to receive their pallium, and not a few times the pope's authority was evoked to solve some local struggles in and out of the church, and even to sanction a king's coronation.

All these subjects mentioned above are going to be examined once again in the first part of this text. They will be presented in a more general overview against their historical context, linking the Church in Europe to the Church in Norway, paying special attention to the main movements from the 11th to the 13th century: starting from the attempts of centralization promoted by the papacy to the erection of the see of Nidaros, and its further development into a stable Christian point of reference.

The second part of this thesis will be dedicated to the study of the breviary itself and the sources of its liturgy, applied on the manuscripts studied here. I will propose an explanation of this complex liturgical book, its organization into a codex and its logic of use. The liturgical fragments analyzed bear a specific kind of liturgy; one type of liturgy whose obligation to follow was taken for granted to every churchman: the Divine Office. All members of the church were and still are required to participate in such liturgical daily celebration to this day. During the Middle Ages, the Divine Office fulfilled the biblical precept of *praying at all times*[13], and this was taken in the sense of a constant liturgical act, consisting of prayers, psalms, chants, lessons, observed at some specific hours over the course of day and night. Likewise, the celebration of the sacraments contained the elements of the Office (prayer, psalms, chants, etc.), used, nevertheless, as a frame of the absolute central position of the sacrament itself. On the other hand, in the Divine Office those elements were not secondary; they were the very essential components of it. In other words, the Office was constant prayer schematized for liturgical usage, a prayer that, differently from the sacramental liturgy, was open to all faithful ones and compulsory to all clergy.

Although this schematized constant prayer was universally practiced, at least in theory, by all clergy, it was not universally equal for the entire ecclesiastical environment. The variety of rites of particular regions, churches and cathedrals in liturgical celebrations was wide. Each city or region celebrated in their own way; for instance, the cathedral's version of the Divine Office was not the same as the one used

[12] GAMS, Pius Bonifacius. *Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae quotquot innotuerunt a Beato Petro Aposotolo*. Ratisbonae: Typis et Sumtibus Georgii Joseph Manz, 1873. pp. 335-337.
[13] *Cf.* Luke 18:1; Eph 6:18, I Thess 5:17; Heb 13:15.

by monks and nuns. Yet, despite the efforts of Innocentius III and other thirteenth century popes to develop an uniform breviary, a large diversity of Divine Offices persisted in the monasteries and cathedrals until the end of the Middle Ages. Henceforth, in the study of the breviaries, one must distinguish two specific groups of texts, or, as it is normally ascribed by liturgists, two kinds of cursus: the monastic and the secular[14]. The monastic cursus was normally followed by the monastic communities governed by the Benedictine rule, and the secular cursus in cathedrals and secular churches and chapters.

This study will also present the two most important parts of every breviary: the *Temporale*, that can also be called the "*proper of time*" and marks the memory, in the Church year, of the mysteries of the salvation associated to the life of Christ, such as Advent, Christmas, Easter, etc.; and the *Sanctorale*, which is the part of the book dedicated to the celebration of the saints, or a group of them. Both parts are intertwined in the commemorations of the Church, and this intricate correlation between them both will be described in the second part of the thesis. My idea is to have a kind of small manual, a guide of "how to use" the breviary and its different parts, proposing an understanding of the *Temporale*, the *Sanctorale* and, furthermore, the canonical hours and its divisions, in order to provide a better understanding of the terminology and analysis of the third part of this text.

At the end of the second part, I also bring a brief explanation of the main sources for the formation of the text for the Divine Office, dividing such sources in two main groups: the Continental and the Insular ones.

In the third part, after having a more general overview of the ecclesiastical and historical context, and a brief explanation at the functionality of the breviary, the scope of fragmentary sources will be finally analyzed. The option for the fragmented breviaries relies on the fact that they can offer a multiplicity of liturgical texts because of their very intrinsic nature, and in addition, they can be witnesses of the liturgical celebrations inside the walls of the monastic world, and of the non cloistered church, for it should be daily and universally observed, at least in theory.

There was an infinity of liturgical books due to the multiple kinds of liturgy performed by the medieval Church. The breviary is among them, one of the most

[14] FASSLER, Margot E. and BALTZER, Rebecca A., (ed.). *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 3.

complex types, especially because of the variety of celebrations of the Divine Office. The liturgical texts that each breviary carries are texts of multiple natures: songs, lessons, psalms, prayers, etc. Exactly because of this variety, many windows can be opened into the account of the composition and transmission of the breviary as a whole, shedding some light over the connections and influences that built the texts we have today.

In this study, 51 fragmentary pieces of parchment were analysed; originally, they were books of prayer or breviaries. These fragments are dated from the 12th to the 15th centuries, following, whenever possible, the periodization offered by Lilli Gjerløw in her personal notes concerning those manuscripts. I also follow the numeration and abbreviation proposed by her and kept by the Riksarkivet; henceforth, BR always stands for Breviary, followed by the number ascribed by her. For this research, I considered all the breviaries kept by the Riksarkivet in Oslo, with the exception of BR18, which is definitively not a breviary but a locally produced lectionary with the legend of St. Hallvard, Oslo Patron Saint; and BR04, which was studied by Gjerløw and whose notes are still kept in the archive, but the fragment itself is housed in Bergen University Library.

The fragments are separated in three basic groups, according to the *cursus* they have, *i.e.*, if the fragments are bearing a Divine Office of (1) monastic or (2) secular origin. In some cases, it was not possible to identify neither one *cursus* nor the other, and such fragments were placed in a group not comfortably called (3) *non classified*. The second divisional cut was the chronological one. Every fragment is then dated from the 12th century to the 15th century, following the periodization proposed by Lilli Gjerløw, either in her publications or personal notes kept in the Riksarkivet.

The option for the division according to the *cursus* was taken because it offers a panorama of the influences over the liturgical celebrations from the two main faces of the church, thus granting a broader perspective of the secular and the regular church clergy. Religious houses and chapters had, for sure, different connections with the rest of European Christendom, and I wanted to privilege this in our analysis.

After having sliced the sources according to their *cursus* and chronology, I searched for the geographical/ritual features of each fragments. This could be achieved through a detailed analysis of their texts. This means that if a lesson was detected in a fragment, for instance, a lesson commonly used in the Office of the cathedral of Hereford, for a given commemoration, it is probable that the rite of this cathedral may

have been influential in the composition of such MS. Nonetheless, such parallels may appear interconnected with rites from diverse places, like BR41, which contains the Common ritual of the commemoration of the Apostles and of the Evangelists too. It can be connected to two specific cathedral chapters, that of York and Lund. Still, some archaic liturgical elements may also lead us to a classification often chronologically crossed: BR43, for instance, from the 14th century, with the commemoration of St. John Evangelist and the texts of Friday and Saturday before the second Sunday of Advent, as well as the third and fourth Sundays of Advent, and the vigil of nativity. This manuscript can be related to three different liturgical traditions: Nidaros, Salisbury and an early medieval liturgical source, the old Gelasian sacramentary, which date from the 13th, 11th and 8th centuries, respectively.

These connections in the present research were reached through a comparative method. Many ways to read the sources are possible when it comes to understanding the transmission of culture via texts. In this thesis, I opted for a comparative analysis, considering the transmission and diffusion of liturgical texts in medieval European context and its historical agents. According to Michel Espagne[15], the communication theory offers the simpler and more classical understanding of emission, diffusion and reception of texts[16]. When it comes to liturgy, the search for *originals* is fundamentally pointless, and the use of the word *original* has little or no significance for liturgical studies, for most liturgical texts are anonymous, and they come from a bulky diversity of contributors and places. Espagne proposes a way to analyse cultural transmission based on the starting place of a given cultural good, taking into account all the elements of the process between the beginning and the end of such transfer, and how much these elements can affect the final product of the message. Then, I considered the multiple centres of liturgical production and their variegated ways to disseminate their production to other areas, in this case, to Norway.

This is the way the manuscripts were studied in this thesis: each breviary was read, its text analyzed, transcribed and then, crossed with all the possible common references and parallels in the tools for liturgical studies; subsequently, when it was possible to establish such parallels, I searched for the connection of our text to the

[15] ESPAGNE, Michel and WERNER, Michael. *Deutsch-Französischer Kulturtransfer im 18 und 19 Jahrhundert. Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.* in: Francia 13, 1985. in: http://francia.digitale-sammlungen.de/Blatt_bsb00016288,00518.html (accessed 09/10/2012).

[16] *Cf.* JOYEUX-PRUNEL, Béatrice. *Les transferts culturels: Un discours de la méthode*. In: Hypothèses, 2002/1 pp. 149-162. In: http://www.cairn.info/publications-de-Joyeux-prunel-B%C3%A9atrice--7208.htm (accessed 09/10/2012).

liturgical sources, building a net of possibilities and influences between the text of our manuscripts and rites/traditions of other areas of the Western Christendom. The tools referred and used were predominantly: *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (CAO),[17] *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* (CAO-ECE),[18] Cantus database,[19] *Ocidentalis* database,[20] the printed versions of the Breviary of Salisbury,[21] Hereford,[22] the Gregorian Sacramentary,[23] the *Codices Sacramentorum*, containing *Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae, Missale Gothcium, Missale Francorum* and *Missale Gallican Vetus*;[24] and, besides, some references are also given in *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*[25] and *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecllesiae*[26] by Lilli Gjerløw, as well as to her personal unpublished notes kept in Riksarkivet.

For this reason, I chose not to undergo a detailed dissection of every fragment. Although I have read them separately and have studied their codicological features, they are to be presented by their type of celebration and *cursus* (if monastic or not), in order to build up a sum of data which allows us to see how and where the connections of the church in Norway were established with the European Christendom.

Besides, some excellent scholarly knowledge were produced about the Office, its books and the medieval liturgy in Norway, such as: *Manuale Norvegicum* (Kolsrud, 1962); *The Nidaros Office of the Holy Blood* (Attinger and Haug, 2004); *The Sequences of Nidaros* (Kruckenberg and Haug, 2006); *English Saints in the Medieval Liturgies of Scandinavian Churches* (Toy, 2009); *Adoratio Crucis* (Gjerløw, 1961) and *Books, Scribes and Sequences in Medieval Norway* (Ommundsen, 2007). This admirable amount of knowledge allowed me to let aside a more detailed paleographical and

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[17] A complete list of the manuscripts contained in CAO is to be found at the University of Regensburg *Cantus Planus* site:
http://www.uni-regensburg.de/Fakultaeten/phil_Fak_I/Musikwissenschaft/cantus/index.htm

[18] Operated by the Department of Early Music in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, available at: http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/cao-ece/cao-ece.html

[19] CANTUS is a database that assembles indices of the Latin ecclesiastical chants found in early manuscript and printed sources for the liturgical Office, such as antiphoners and breviaries; it is affiliated at the University of Waterloo in cooperation with the Charles University in Prague, available at: http://cantusdatabase.org/

[20] Available in the website of the All-Merciful Savior, a mission of the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia, at: http://www.allmercifulsavior.com/Liturgy/Liturgics.html

[21] MILFORD. Humphrey. *The Sarum Missal*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1916.

[22] FRERE, Walter H. and Brown, LANGTON E. G. *The Hereford Breviary*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915.

[23] WILSON, H. A. *The Gregorian Sacramentary under Charles the Great*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915.

[24] THOMASII, Joseph Maria. *Codices Sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores nimirùm libri III Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae* (...). Roma: Typographia Angeli Bernabó, 1680

[25] GJERLØW, Lilli. *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (Orðubók)*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968.

[26] GJERLØW, Lilli. *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecllesiae*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1979.

codicological analysis, and gave me the possibility to rely on their expertise, henceforth, establishing connections beyond the first step of the manuscript studies, which is the extensive work of paleography and codicology.

I seek to surpass the purely paleographical and/or codicological analysis of the breviaries, *i.e*, I seek a more technical one, an analysis that may connect them to their use, production, circulation and social role. This thesis was built close-related to Cyrille Vogel[27] and Pierre Salmon,[28] especially the last one, who, by building the history of the breviary in the Western Christianity, was able to link sources and context, paleography and history in the same text. Still, in this very same style, other more recent scholars' works were used largely as a guide and inspiration, such as the great collection "*The Study of Liturgy*" and Ommundsen,[29] mentioned above.

[27] Voguel, 1986.
[28] SALMON, Pierre. *The Breviary through the Centuries*. Collegeville (USA): The Liturgical Press, 1962.
[29] OMMUNDSEN, Åslaug. *Books, Scribes and Sequences in Medieval Norway, Volume 1.* Bergen: PhD Dissertation - University of Bergen, 2007.

PART I
CONTEXTUALIZATION: THE MELTING POT

Historical understanding of the Christian liturgy cannot rely alone on the texts used for the celebrations. As Anton Baumstark, an expert in liturgical research, says: "Indeed liturgical forms are so intimately bound up with the external history of the world and of the church and with the development of religious sentiment, itself conditioned by historical happenings, that they are constantly being subjected to very great modifications".[30] Contextualization is to insert some subject in the historical ambient which surrounded it. In this part of the thesis, my idea is to bring some glimpses over the Western European Christendom and its main happenings in the period that immediately foregoes and follows the timeframe proposed.

By the mid 11th century, a conflict was developed between Gregorio VII and Heinrich IV. The politics of the empire and the church reforms applied by the pontiff collided, and the Controversy of the Investitures emerged. This conflict was a turmoil point in European history for many reasons, the way that both sides appealed to the "right" showed the limits of the doctrine of the *Duo sunt*[31]. The direction of the Christendom led by two heads deeply intertwined; for obvious reasons, it would result in subordination, and none was even a bit interested in submitting to the other. The exclusion of the emperor from the Christian society (excommunication) and the acute sense of distinction between secular and spiritual powers prepared the progressive separation between "State and Church", although none of the involved parts meant this in its pursuit.

The movement of reform of the eleventh and twelfth centuries was instinctively reinforced by the discourse of the primogeniture of the Roman Church, by the belief that the papal throne was, in fact, the cathedra of Peter. That was the ecclesiological formulation which formed the basis for the development of representations of Roman

[30] BAUMSTARK, A. *Comparative Liturgy*. London: A.R. Mowbray, 1958. p. 1.
[31] A letter written in 494 by Pope Gelasius I to emperor Anastasius I. This letter established the dualistic principle that would underlie all Western European political thought for almost a millennium. Gelasius expressed a distinction between "two powers", which he called the "holy authority of bishops" (auctoritas *sacrata pontificum*) and the "royal power" (*regalis potestas*).

institution. When Gregorio VII (1073-1085), claimed the protection of the Apostle in his epistles, he made clear that he occupied the place that once was Peter's position. That was the support for the reform of the Church and the *Libertas Ecclesiae* ideal.

The incident of the century was in Canossa, when a humble emperor dressed like a pilgrim did penance for some days in front of the palace where the pope spent the winter. However, the changes of the time were not only concentrated on the Investiture Controversy; in its inner life, the papacy was struggling with its dominion: imposing celibacy to the clergy, fighting against simony and trying to compel a religious order over all aspects of the life of the faithful ones. Liturgical reform was the theme of this time. The liturgy of this period was deeply influenced by main forces of earlier origin. When Christianity became Christendom, the liturgical implications were enormous, for the liturgical acts were the visible manifestation of the Church's supremacy. Therefore, after the 11th century, progressively, liturgy was understood as a realm where church authority was meant to be absolute: first of the metropolitans, and then, finally, of the pope alone. Other forces which played part in the forging of the liturgy from this period onwards were also: the emergence of the Cluny monasticism, the appearance of the new religious orders, such as the Cistercians and the mendicants, and at last, but not least, the gothic wave, which helped to redesign a large number of European cathedrals and libraries.

I. 1 - ROME KNOWS BETTER: GREGORIAN REFORM AND THE GROWTH OF THE PAPAL POWER.

Since its origins, church organization was based on the proper functionality of the secular clergy, much more than on closed monastic communities. The elementary aspect of local communities was directed by a bishop, and this bishop had, under his command, many different clerical orders to attend the spiritual demands of his flock. Over the centuries, the idea of ecclesiastical territorial division was born, and each and every bishop got his seat over a specific region. This territory was primarily connected to a *civitas romana*, and, in fact, the bishop's authority was directly associated to the cities for a very long time. There was the Episcopal residence or palace, the cathedral and, within its walls, the local ecclesiastical and, sometimes, civil administration was exercised. However, with the expansion of Christianity over more rural areas, a new kind of community appeared: the rural churches. The expansion of the Christian faith to

not very populated areas amplified the authority of the bishop, from the city to its rural *suburbium*. It became common then to use the old Roman designation for this area of government, applied to the canonical administration, diocese[32]. Within the borders of the diocese, which sometimes were geographically enormous, there was a smaller and more fundamental unity of the Christian world, from the Merovingian time: the parish church, a net of thousands of small churches and chapels spread in every part of the growing Christendom. This net was extremely important, for centuries later, for the papacy to impose the centralization of the ecclesiastical administration and the micromanagement of the spiritual life of every soul in the Latin Church.

The medieval clergy was formed by two distinct and sometimes antagonist groups: secular and regular clergy. From the archbishops to the local vicar, this group is generally called secular because they lived among people, in the world (*in saeculum*), while the regulars lived under a monastic *regula*, in closed communities.

From the 10th century, the Holy Roman Emperor Otto I (912-973) strengthened a process of political intervention in the affairs of the Church to consolidate his power, and for this he interfered in the functionality of the secular and regular clergy. He founded bishoprics and abbeys and named their titular (lay people inclusive) in exchange of protection, which he allegedly gave to the Church and thus began to exert control over it. Investitures made by the Emperor sought its local interests, and the high clergy appointed assumed commitment to the ruler.

This appointment took place in a liturgical act, where a bishop was consecrated by an archbishop or several other bishops, becoming then a minister of the Church. The new created bishop was also "invested" with symbols of his authority, a ring and a staff, by the temporal magnate by whom he was appointed, henceforth, becoming his vassal, because not a few dioceses, created since the Merovingian time, had become imperial fiefs. This was exactly the high point of the conflict between pope and emperor.[33] To paraphrase a well known maxim of the Gospel, nobody could serve two masters; and according to the Roman ecclesiology, the only master of the Christendom was seated in St. Peter's Cathedra, not in the throne of Charlemagne. Even though it was true that the papacy was submissive to the emperor during the Carolingian rulers, in theory, the head and chef of the church was Peter's successor in Rome. It was Alcuin of York (ca. 730-

[32] FONT-REAULX, Jacques de. *La Estruture Comparée d'um Diocese*. In: MAROT, P. (dir.). *Revue h´Histoire de l'Église de France*. T. 36. N°128. André-Pouyé: Meaux, 1950. pp. 182-186.
[33] PINTONELLO, Aquiles. *I Papi – Sintesi Storica, Curiosità, Aneddotica*. R. Luciani: Roma, 1980. pp.27-28.

804), in the Carolingian Empire, who brought the figure of the Church as a wife to the groom that appears in Christ himself, as expressed in the Bible. This Carolingian scholar also used other significant meaning for this doctrine, often presenting the Church as a bride of Christ, but also as the wife of the Emperor.[34]

Charlemagne's son, Louis the Pious (778-840), founded the see of Hamburg and made this see responsible for the churches and missionary activity north of the Elbe. The emperor nominated St. Ansgar (801-865) as its first bishop, and Pope Gregorio IV (828-854) only confirmed the foundation giving the new appointed archbishop his pallium. On this occasion, Gregory IV also named Ansgar the papal legate to the North, along with Bishop Ebo of Reims (ca. 775-851), being both responsible for the evangelization, and being the see of Hamburg designated for the mission to bring Christianity to the North. Some years later, in 847/8, Louis the German amalgamated the sees of Hamburg and Bremen. It is interesting to note that the papal bull confirming this act stated that the pope had followed the wishes expressed by Louis the Pious and his son. As it can be seem, the Ottonian period, mentioned above, was not the inventor of the practice of imperial investiture nor of the creation of sees and archdioceses; however, the newly acquired mentality of the Church from the 11th century, of its dignity and especially, its power, allowed a series of popes to fight against this old established practice.[35]

Gregorio VII was a man deeply conscious of his task and dignity as the successor of the prince of the apostles. He was concerned about the general and immediate need of changing the Church of his time. He strongly emphasized the propagation of the Roman liturgy, as it was, in his view, the restoration of the order, established by earlier popes and, therefore, a vindication of the supremacy of the Holy See. Besides, a record in his register shows a specific concern about the celebration of the pontiffs which were saints, that should be celebrated everywhere with a full Office[36]. By ordering the commemoration of this micro-multitude of saints (more than 50 by his time), Gregorio not only exalted the papal office, but also tried to bring the favour and legitimacy of the holy popes to his own pontificate. The message of the liturgy was: Rome knows better, the centre is what matters.

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[34] BURNS, J. H., *The Cambridge history of Medieval Political Thought – c. 350-c.1450*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. p. 252-305.
[35] *Apud*. Sanmark, 2004. p. 107.
[36] MORIN, D. G,. *Règlements inédits du Pape Saint Grégoire VII pour les chanoines réguliers*. In: *Revue Bénédictine, 18*. Denée (BL): Abbaye de Maredsous, 1901. pp. 177-183.

Gregorio also mentioned Peter frequently in his documents. In the letter where he compels Heinrich IV (1050-1106) to obey the precepts of the Church, Gregorio VII claimed the freedom of the Church of Milan, whose bishop had been invested by the monarch and therefore owed him allegiance. Calling for the release of the alleged Church, the pope pleaded to the monarch's faith in St. Peter and to the Apostle's authority.[37] The reference to the Apostle Peter in the document shows that there was an acceptance of the Roman Primacy by the receiver of that message. The fact that this rule was not explicit in the letter indicates that there was consensus in the belief in the legacy of Peter to the bishops of Rome. Occasionally, silence about something is eloquent; therefore, it was unnecessary to reaffirm something that was already traditionally established[38]. The principle of the primacy of Rome seemed to be consolidated in the 11th century. It was then time to consolidate this in the political and spiritual praxis.

To understand the process of the consolidation of such primacy in full, it is necessary to comprehend the amplitude of the so called Gregorian Reform, which affected the very heart of the Church. This reform marked the triumph of an ecclesiology whose axis was Roman, liberating a historical process with an unquestionable perspective. The reforms of the time were not only concentrated on the conflict over the attribution of the ecclesiastical offices by lay sovereigns. In its inner life, church governance also changed.

The reformer papacy - product and interpreter of a society in transformation, surrounded by religious, political and economic needs - also searched, within the Church structure, the authority and sanction to impose its new ideals of the Petrine cathedra and papal primacy. The cardinals got the prerogative of the new pontiff's election and since then developed a collegial function, reflecting the biblical idea of an "apostolic college", helping in the Church's government. In 1059, the decree *In Nomine Domini* of Nicolaus II (1059-1061) amplified the number of cardinals and established that only those invested with the purple hat could elect the new pope, eliminating this way, the interference of the Roman families, of princes and emperors, and inclusive of bishops, creating the canonical election of a pope by a conclave[39].

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[37] ULLMANN, Walter. *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages*. London: Methuen, 1955. p. 28-31.
[38] ORLANDI, Eni Puccinelli. *Análise de discurso: princípios e procedimentos*. Campinas (BR): Pontes Editores, 2010. p. 83
[39] The complete Latin text of the document is available at: http://www.osjcuria.org/sga/young/giovannipaolo/innominedomini.pdf (acessed on 04/10/2012).

Marking the symbiosis of the pontifical authority with the whole church, the number of bishops' synods called by the Apostolic See rose into a non-precedent number: 9 under Leo IX (1049-1054); one under Victor II (1055-1057); one under Nicolaus II; many under Gregorio VII, a former monk of Cluny, for the first time ever, admitted abbots in the synod congregated before Easter, in 1075. Urbanus II (1088-1099) called a synod in Placencia with more than 200 clerics and one in Clermont (1096), where the first crusade was preached, with the presence of 92 bishops and 90 abbots; Paschalis II (1099-1118) elaborated a synod in San Giovanni, in Laterano, where 427 clerics attended. Calistus II (1119-1124) called for a local council in Reims, in 1119.

The bushfire of the investitures was the iceberg top of a much longer and complex process of centralization existing before Canossa, but eventually it officially came to an end in 1122. The Concordat of Worms, between Calistus II and Heinrich V (ca. 1081-1125), ratified by the First Lateran Council in 1123, in the general expression, pacified both sides of the conflict: "*no one should consecrate a bishop if this bishop was not chosen according to the canonical norms*"[40]. The same Council codified and enforced other reformed laws over the Latin Church: the extension and keeping of the *Pax Dei*; serious condemnation and prohibition of the simony, as well as the interdiction of those clerics still in marital status; prohibition for priests to live with a woman under the same roof; and extension of the jurisdiction of the archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen over the Scandinavian Church[41].

I. 2 - THE MONASTICISM OF CLUNY.

The affirmation and extension of the pope's authority was followed by one of the most important religious movements of the Middle Ages: Cluniac Monasticism. In 910, the Duke of Aquitaine, William III (915-963) gave his best hunting lands to the Benedictine monk Berno of Baume (910-927), to erect a monastery where the Benedictine rule should be restored and observed according to its primitive habits and purity. It was not unusual for nobles and lords to make peace with God before their death by donating land or other gifts to religious houses, expecting benefits accreted from prayers and suffrages that would be officiated for their souls. With this in mind,

[40] COD 160, 8.
[41] ALBERIGO, Giuseppe. *Storia dei Concili Ecumenici*. Queriana: Bréscia, 1990. pp. 190-191.

the founder or donor of a monastic institute believed he could ask (and receive) prayers and masses from “his” monks, because the monks would feel sort of obligated to return the generosity of their benefactor.

Nevertheless, it was the abbot St. Odo (926-942) who was the true founder of the prestige of Cluny; obtaining the pope’s permission, the house of Cluny would become the head of a monastic order, being submitted only to the Holy See itself. The revival of the rule, as it was planed since the donation, was the motto of the abbey, with reduction of manual labour to accommodate greater stress on prayer and worship, especially the Divine Office.

This is the donation charter of Cluny; not given to the protection and ownership of the abbot, or the local bishop, or any nearby magnate, or even St. Benedict (the obvious patron saint of any Benedictine abbey), but given to Saint Peter himself.

> To all right thinkers it is clear that the providence of God has so provided for certain rich men that, by means of their transitory possessions, if they use them well, they may be able to merit everlasting rewards. As to which thing, indeed, the divine world, showing it to be possible and altogether advising it, says: "The riches of a man are the redemption of his soul." I, William, count and duke by the grace of God, diligently pondering this, and desiring to provide for my own safety while I am still able, have considered it advisable - nay, most necessary, that from the temporal goods which have been conferred upon me I should give some little portion for the gain of my soul. I do this indeed in order that I who have thus increased in wealth may not, per chance, at the last be accused of have having spent all in caring for my body, but rather may rejoice, when fate at last shall snatch all things away, in having reserved something for myself. […]
>
> Therefore be it known to all who live in the unity of the faith and who await the mercy of Christ, and to those who shall succeed them and who shall continue to exist until the end of the world, that, for the love of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I hand over from my own rule to the holy apostles, Peter, namely, and Paul, the possessions over which I hold sway, the town of Cluny, namely, with the court and demesne manor, and

> the church in honour of St. Mary the mother of God and of St. Peter the prince of the apostles[42]

The donation to the prince of the apostles, and by consequence, to his successor, the Holy Father in Rome had more significance than the spiritual devotion to the saint. St. Peter had heavenly affairs to attend and, most of the time, the pope was too far away to care personally about the abbey administration, what left the abbot virtually (and really) free to rule this spiritual domain (not to mention the temporal one) alone. It was precisely this uncommon freedom of a monastic institution at this time that allowed the great development of Cluny as a centre of "holiness": "for so reverently are the masses performed there, so piously and worthily, that one would think the work, not of men, but of angels indeed".[43]

Monasteries all through French, German, Italian, Britannic and Iberian countryside requested to join the Cluniac authority, placing themselves under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Cluny, and following its common observances and liturgical innovations. Receiving formal papal approval, Cluny extended itself, reaching from Santiago to Magdeburg, from York to La Cava. By the year 1100, there were about 600 Cluniac foundations and around 10.000 Cluniac monks in Latin Christendom.[44] And even though the ruling of those monastic houses remained partially autonomous, they were all obligated by the same *Consuetudines Cluniacensis*, the liturgical customs of Cluny.

Medieval monks normally followed the prescription of the Benedictine rule, devoting themselves to manual labour, studies and prayer; nevertheless, the monks of Cluny barely had any time for other activity than the liturgy itself. Odo had required his monks to recite 138 psalms a day! More than 3 times what was normally expected from a monk. According to a famous quotation, St. Anselm had considered becoming a monk in Cluny, but quickly gave up the idea when he realized that the liturgical task would leave him no time for studying.[45]

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[42] HENDERSON, Ernest F,. *Select Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*. George Bell and Sons: London, 1910. p. 329
[43] GLABER, Rodulfus, *Opera* 5,13
[44] PEDRERO-SÁNCHEZ, Maria Guadalupe. *História da Idade Média: Textos e Testemunhos*. UNESP: São Paulo, 2000. p.281.
[45] SOUTHERN, R.W. (Ed.) *The Life of St. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*. T. Nelson: New York and London, 1962. p. 9.

The Cluniac liturgy was not only a real revolution and transformation of the celebration in monasteries and cathedral chapters, but also of the reality of the monastic life. St. Benedict himself was never ordained a priest, nor was most of the monks priests at the early monastic foundations. In Cluny, monk ordination became the norm, not the exception, henceforth allowing every monk of the community to celebrate mass privately, which by the way, was an obligation, in order to pray for the deceased benefactors of the monastic foundations, whose names were carefully written in necrologies.

The reform led by the popes in Rome found in Cluny a perfect expression of its ecclesiology, an ecclesiology based on a purified and unified priesthood order, with a high sense of its dignity, celebrated in an extensive and elaborated, but approved liturgy. This new Cluniac emphasis on the priestly function of the monk was deeply connected to the theological controversy of the time, about the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist[46].

The miraculous meaning of the mass, where the Eucharistic element effectively and substantially becomes the body and blood of Christ, gave a new sense to the liturgical drama. The priest was then no longer the representative of the community in front of God, in the liturgy; he was seen invested with a special power, given after the ordination, to bring God himself in the species of the sacrament, to the midst of the people. The mass was understood as a dramatic representation of an action in the divine economy, especially of the passion, death and resurrection of Christ, beginning with the prefiguration of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament and concluding with the ascension of the Saviour into heaven. The medieval mass commentators were attached to this new allegorical and sacramental vision of the mass celebration no longer as a gathering of the faithful in a thanksgiving ceremony, but as the supreme sacrifice of Christ, repeated by the priest in favour of the deceased and living[47]. Since the celebration was focused on the priest alone, all the minor orders such as *schola cantorum*, lector, doorkeeper and exorcists were dispensable in the non-solemn celebration. The fundamental need of a congregation was gradually dispensed, and a typical gothic practice became normal: the private mass. A glimpse in the architectural

[46] FRÖHLICH, Roland. *Grundkurs Kirchengeschicte*. Herder: Freiburg, 1980. p 89.
[47] For a deeper discussion about the "gothic mass" and the medieval commentators: JUNGMANN, Joseph A. *The Mass of the Roman Rite*. Burns & Oates: Londo, 1959.

disposition of the churches of this time will illustrate it well. Small private chapels were multiplied in every cathedral, abbey church and basilica.

Although the private mass was not a creation of the Cluniac spirituality, it was speedily spread because of the influence of this abbey over other monasteries and cathedrals of Europe. It became common for several private masses – Eucharistic liturgy without a congregation – to be celebrated simultaneously in various chapels and side altars.

I. 3 – ABBOT SUGER OF SAINT DENIS: THE GOTHIC WAVE.

Suger (1081-1151) was the abbot of the royal abbey of Saint Denis, one of the oldest and most renowned monastic foundations of Christendom, since long associated with the French monarchy and power. Of humble origin, Suger entered the abbey when he was a fellow student of King Louis VI (1081-1137). He was always active in the abbey's business and was sent to the Roman curia as ambassador of the King, and after returning from a visit to Calistus II, he was elected abbot. He was dynamic in French politics and friendly to the reform ideals of his time. Suger wrote a number of historical works, including *Vita Ludovici Grossi Regis*, *Historia Ludovici VII* and *Liber de Rebus in Administratione sua Gestis*, a memoir of his monastic rule over St. Denis. However, his most endurable work was the reconstruction of the abbey church, a task which introduced elements of the gothic architecture, and liturgy, which soon were to dominate in Europe.

Once enthroned as abbot, Suger inherited a church that was a splendid Carolingian building that had been consecrated in 775, and was patronized by French rulers since this time. It was the favoured funerary place of most of the Frankish monarchs, and this was the perfect justification for the enormous sums Suger used on its construction. The inscription on the doors, just above the tympanum, can be associated with a changing of the aesthetic paradigm, but also with the view of what this building represented:

> Whoever thou may art, if thou whish to extol the glory of these doors, do not marvel at their gold and their expense, but instead at the craftsmanship of the work. Bright is the noble work; but, being nobly bright, the work should brighten the minds of men, so that they may travel, through the true lights, to the True Light where Christ is the true portal.

> The golden door defines in what manner it may be inherent in this world:
> The dreary mind rises to truth through what is material and, in seeing this light, is resurrected from its former submersion.[48]

The verses of Suger, known from his defence of the utilization of noble and expensive materials of luxury in God's house, are surprising in a sense. It seems that he places "art" (or, as he says, "*operis laborem*") in front of all. However, this interpretation should not be carried on, because the word *art* is not mentioned here, two other corresponding terms are: *opus* and *labor*. Suger did not use the word *art*, notwithstanding he could have, because what he was praising was not the *art* itself, but the *work*, the *work* that the *art* operates, as the use of the genitive case shows. And this operation made by the work of the art is made possible by the shine and elegance of the material used: gold. And the work was done to shine, to glitter and mirror God's glory.

Suger was creating nothing really new when he explicitly mentioned the power of the craft which shines to help to enlighten the mind of men. Since the end of the 6th century, Gregorio Magno's time, art had been the book of the illiterate, but it was from the 12th century onward that the anagogical idea of the *transitus'* power of the material representation helped in the worship. If the most noble and high of all "materials", the body of Christ, becomes material reality through the liturgical consecration, gold is to follow the same path, being simply and earthly metal, consecrated to God's glory, receiving then a higher status. This is the doctrine of the real and material presence of Christ in the Eucharistic host made now into stone and metal, explaining and justifying the superabundance of luxurious liturgical stages, vests, dramas and books.

Finally, on the 14th of June, 1144, the church was solemnly consecrated. Its twenty side altars - nine only in the choir - were blessed in a dazzling liturgical act. Eleanor of Aquitaine was present at the mass, as well as nothing less than seventeen archbishops and bishops, abbots, nobles and clerics of all pedigrees[49]. All these people who attended Suger mass in the summer of 1144 was unquestionably amazed by the opulence of the ceremony and of the building itself. When they returned home, they were more than

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[48] *"Portarum quisquis attollere quaeris honorem / Aurum nec sumptus operis mirare laborem / Nobile claret opus sed opus quod nobile claret / Clarificet mentes ut eant per lumina vera / Ad verum lumen ubi Christus janua vera / Quale sit intus in his determinat aurea porta / Mens hebes ad verum per materialia surgit / Et demersa prius hac visa luce resurgit"* SUGER. Liber de rebus in administratione sua gestis, 27. in: PANOFSKY, Erwin. "*O Abade Suger de S. Denis*", in: _____. *Significado nas artes visuais*. Perspectiva: São Paulo, 1979. p. 174 (translation is mine).

[49] CROSBY, Summer McKnight. *The Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis, from its Beginnings to the death of Suger, 475-1151*. Yale University Press: New Haven, USA, 1987. p 117.

willing to construct something comparable for themselves; I would rather say Suger awoke a "holy envy" on them, which disseminated the new style on the whole continent.

The very name of Cluny was related to images of luxury and regal splendour, as well as to the privileged aristocracy - the majority of the monks of Cluny were in fact aristocrats, and even its most prominent abbot, St. Hugh (1024-1109), was directly related to the house of Aquitaine.[50] St. Denis was, in its turn, the centre where the gothic mentality flourished, communicating at the same time, a religious and a political expression, uniting power and spirituality.

I. 4 – A New Vision of the Monastic Life: Cistercians, Franciscans and Dominicans.

By the time Suger consecrated his church, Cluniac liturgy and the new trend of church building had already been challenged by an innovative group of monks - some Christians, who insisted on following the gospel by letter, or at least what they understood as the true spirit of the evangelic teaching. Some of these groups were part of heretic movements, others like the Cistercians, and, some time after them, Franciscans and Dominicans were agglutinated by the church, and in many cases welcomed by it. Jesus had told people to abandon wealth and not to allegiance with the rich and powerful; one can easily remember his words about the rich man wanting to enter the kingdom of heaven, which was like a camel trying to enter into the *eye of a needle*. Actually, some Christians listened to what Jesus had said and tried to live a simpler and more frugal life.

The monks of Cîteaux were also nicknamed "white monks" because of their refusal to ink their habits in black, as it was the custom of Cluny. In 1098, three monks, led by Robert (1028-1111), abbot of Molesmes, left the characteristic pomp, wealth and power of Cluny for a life more consistent with the Gospel ideals of poorness and service, creating at Cîteaux, in Burgundy, the first Abbey of the today so-called Cistercian Order. The new order came to possess about 750 monasteries throughout Western Europe along the Middle Ages.

[50] FARMER, David. *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2011. p. 216.

Cluny adopted a spirituality that was, in essence, dedicated to the liturgical action. Since the serfs were occupied in supplying all the other necessities of the monasterys functionality, the monks could totally dedicate themselves to the liturgical work, or *opus Dei*. The Cistercians saw the service of God, the *opus Dei*, as their dedication to prayer and manual work done by the monks, with the converts or lay brothers. Although Cistercians spirituality was not nourished by the splendour of the Cluniac churches, the brightness of the liturgy and the pomp of religious ceremonies, but instead by the simplicity of life and clean lines of unadorned Romanesque buildings. The Cistercians housed a new spiritual and material style, more rigorous and more disdained for the details in favour of the essentials of the monastic spirituality. St. Bernardus of Clairvaux (1090-1153), considered one of the founders of the order, was its higher exponent already on his life time. He imprinted a considerable level of development to the Cistercians, founding himself 66 abbeys; in the 11th century, he was one of the main personalities of Christendom. By the time of his death, the white monks could count around 350 monasteries in Europe.

Higher demands were made for the Cistercian monastic life, humility and austerity: isolation and commitment to personal prayer and sustenance through manual labour, flexibility in the hierarchical relationship between the founder-abbey and the daughter-abbeys, respecting their independence, individual responsibility and economic autonomy. There was only one obligation, to receive the visitation of the abbot of the mother house, made regularly so the fidelity to the rule of S. Benedict and the maintenance of good habits and customs were checked; even Cîteaux, the mother of all houses, was visited by four abbots of surrounding monasteries.

The ideal of returning to evangelic roots was not exclusive of the Cistercian monks. This ideal also brought a new kind of religious life forward, the mendicant orders. The principal founders (St. Francesco and St. Domingo) wanted to answer the call for a more holy and renewed life within the church of their time, and they were especially sensitive to the urban development and to the newly created universities, while Cistercians remained rural, dedicated to the original monastic ideal of isolation.

Founded in a time when the religious communities were free of lay investiture, Franciscans and Dominicans had freedom and autonomy unknown to other religious communities before them. They became an important instrument of the papacy and its centralization attempts, and the preaching voice of the ideal of reformed and renewed spirituality. Franciscans had a more direct influence over the people through their

preaching and pastoral activity, while Dominicans dedicated themselves more to the university studies and intellectual activities, both orders created support, intellectual and popular, for the ideas of supremacy so strongly proposed by the popes of the 13th century.

The mendicant orders were opposed the agrarian structure of the traditional monastic orders, their stability and the virtual autonomy of their monasteries. The mendicants adapted their life to the moment and place they were at, normally in cities and small communities. Besides, the papal approval and privilege given to the mendicants allowed them to preach independently of the local ordinal, something unprecedented in Church history, for it was the first time that a group of clerics (not being bishops) got the permission to preach. The pope who gave support to this new movement inside the church was nobody less than Inocentius III (1198-1216), considered the most powerful pope of the Middle Ages. Despite the strong opposition of bishops and local clergy, no one in the Latin Christendom dared to contradict this powerful man, and thus, the mendicants were granted space and some freedom to grow and develop their own spirituality and organization. The Franciscans in particular were closely connected to the papacy, subjected directly to the authority of the pontiff; this connection was so close that many historians of liturgy attributed the appearance of the breviary on its actual format to them, as being imported from the model of Office books used in the papal chapel in the Lateran palace.

The Cistercians and the mendicants believed they were living a life much closer to Christ and the apostles, leading a less frivolous and more pastoral life. S. Bernardus vigorously attacked the pomp of Cluny, and beside the fact that he praised the ardent desire of Suger for reforming its abbey, he did not agree with its extravagant reconstruction. The simple life of the mendicants was a silent disapproval of the clergy's lavish life, and attracted not a few critics and retaliations. However, despite the conflict of ideals that remained in history, the ideas of Cluny and St. Deny prevailed, not those of Cister or Assisi. The gothic taste and aesthetic prevailed.

I. 5 - GOING UP THE NORTHERN WAY: THE CHURCH IN NORWAY.

The investiture controversy was centred on a liturgical practice which was emblematical in a broader theological, ecclesiological and political sense. It shaped the thinking of the Church, and also contributed to a more centralized Latin liturgy by

slowly making the Roman rite (the liturgy of the diocese of Rome) normative for all. This effort to restore the liturgical unity of the Church around the Roman practice, purging the Germanic influences, was the claim of the new reformed papacy. It is evident that no liturgical unity was achieved - the closest it got to being achieved was after the council of Trento in the 16th century. Nevertheless, traces of unity can be grasped. The structure of the mass and the structure of the Divine Office were indeed becoming one, and even if its contents were diverse, other rites, like the Mozarab, Milanese and Veronese, were slowly pushed away in the permanent centralizing tendency of the papacy.

Since the 5th century, Innocentius I (402-417) held a famous decree, which said all causes of greater importance could be submitted to the Apostolic See, *i.e.*, to the papal jurisdiction. To avail such indefinite expression, the pontiff evidently ensured himself the right and the possibility to intervene whenever it was wanted.[51] This was reassumed centuries later, in the affirmation of Urbanus II (1088-1099) to the archbishop of Tours: "important affairs of the particular churches ought to be judged by apostolic authority"[52].

The attempts of centralization were not only political ones, and exactly at this point, the historical movement which was discussed on the pages above culminate: centralized papacy imposing its authority on the religious life, especially under Innocentius III (1198-1216) over the politics of the time; renewed monastic living by a new sense of the Divine Office as *opus Dei* and the unstoppable celebration of masses as in Cluny, on one hand, and austerity and hard work as in Cîteaux, on the other hand; new mendicant orders preaching and also celebrating amongst the people; Dominicans creating the intellectual basis of this new spirituality, academically developing the formal theological thinking, and Franciscans spreading the liturgy of the Roman curia, inclusive in Norway.

Thanks to the centralization of the papacy, Nidaros came to being as a diocese, for Gregorio VII needed support from all the possible allies against the Emperor. Weakening the power of the diocese of Hamburg-Bremen, which actively supported the cause of the empire against the papacy, was a way to assure the backing of most of the clerics and of the monarchy in Northern Europe.

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[51] BAUS, Karl and EWIN, Eugen. *Storia della Chiesa. L'Epoca dei Concili*. Milano: Jaca Book, 1977. p. 281.
[52] HAURÉAU, Barthélemy. *Gallia Christiana*, vol XIV. Paris: Instituti Francae Typographos, 1866. p. 1051.

All these factors are related and are relevant for the present research because, in a sense, directly or indirectly, they inflected on the liturgy which was celebrated in the whole Church, and therefore, over the liturgical fragments we are going to analyse.

Thanks to the renewed impulse in the monastic life, foundations of the Benedictine rule, in its white and black form spread around the Scandinavian Peninsula. Cistercians came to the Scandinavia peninsula, first to Sweden, to Alvastra, in 1143, 50 years after the foundation of Cîteaux, and in less than 100 years, the whole peninsula had more than 15 houses, three of them in Norway alone (Lyse, in 1146; Hovedoy, in 1147; and Taura, in 1207)[53]. Even mendicant orders, that were not so common in the North, found their way through small foundations and helped to shape the format of the Divine Office celebrated in the chapter of Nidaros; finally, Suger and the gothic style were also present, because the new fashion could reach the Saint Olav shrine, in Trondheim, a place that became the most important symbol of Norwegian Christianity.

The erection of Nidaros injected the country into the world of Western Christianity, in a broader sense. From the time of the pontificate of Gregorio VII the papacy started to be a regular presence in Norway. It can be seen as a part of the reform movements and the enlargement of the papal authority over all the Latin Church, as it was mentioned above; there were significant steps in this direction: first, the foundation of the archiepiscopal see of Lund in 1103/4, diminishing the imperial influence over the North, and finally, the foundation of Nidaros in 1153[54].

Nidaros Cathedral started to be built on the initiative of Olav Kyrre around 1070, and in the following century, a transept was erected, at first in a Romanesque style; however, from the second half of the 12th century, it agglutinated transitional features of the new gothic trend, which can be also seen in the Chapter House at the northeastern corner of the nave; and after the return of archbishop Øystein, the new style was firmly established. Nevertheless, not only the national shrine was up to date with the news from the continent, small local churches following the gothic style can also be found, some of them very simple, but outstandingly gothic, like the Eidjord parish. In fact, the gothic style dominated the church buildings in Norway, especially from the 13th century onward.[55]

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[53] FRANCE, James. *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*. Kalamazoo (USA): Cistercian Publications, 1992. p. 8.
[54] Sanmark, *idem*.
[55] NEDKVITNE, Arnved. *Lay Belief in Norse Society 1000-1350*. Museum Tusculanum Press: Copenhagen, 2009. p. 194.

The Church in Norway was a church of meetings. This is particularly illustrated by facts like the invitation of Gregorio VII (him again), in 1079, made to the kings of Denmark and Norway to send some young men to the curia, so they could become instructed in Cannon Law and then teach their fellow countrymen; besides, not a few Norwegian students, mostly cleric ones, were sent abroad, to important intellectual centres, allowing the church in Norway to have close contact with the rest of Europe[56]. Thus, this is a church where many different parts of the Latin Christendom met via different ways, a central place for its neighbours and of notable liturgical effervescence, which clearly became a meeting point of the many tendencies of European Christianity from the 12th century on. These meetings were so constant and so diverse, that the mixture with the European tendencies was one of the distinctive marks of the church and of the very liturgy; therefore, forging a liturgy which was at the same time very European and very Norwegian, local and universal, keeping its own particular feasts, celebrations and features (some very original compositions are found in the Liturgy of Nidaros, in honour of St. Olav, for example), but was totally aligned with the universal church, its tastes and styles. In my understanding, exactly because of this characteristic of the Church in Norway, the much fashionable discussion about centre and periphery is inappropriate. The very classification of central and peripheral places is a difficult one, in a sense, when concerning church history in the Western European context. In fact, strictly speaking, in medieval understanding of Christianity, everything that was not Jerusalem, and by transfer, Rome itself, was periphery to the Latin Church. The Church in Norway did not see itself as a peripheral church, as the constant contact with the Roman curia and with all other parts of Europe made it clear that it was much integrated in the Latin Christendom. Even the hardest positions proposed by the Gregorian reforms were to be felt, for example, in the period of episcopacy of bishop Sigurd of Bergen (1139-1146), who strongly opposed the king's attempts over the rights of the church[57]. Besides, the only one to whom Nidaros showed deference and submission was the pope; no other ecclesiastical office was faced with any kind of compliance.

For instance, in Norway, the English influence can be clearly seen in wooden sculptures;[58] however, in Nidaros Cathedral, the stone figures can be easily related to

[56] *Passim*. BAGGE. Sverre. *Nordic Students at Foreign Universities until 1660*. In: *Scandinavian Journal of History*, volume 9, 1. London: Routledge, 1984.
[57] FRANCE, p. 78-79.
[58] ANDERSON, A. *English Influence in Norwegian and Swedish Figure Sculpture in Wood*, 1220-1270. Wahlström and Widstran: Stockholm, 1949

French ones, as well as the manner of the altar panels in Bergen and Oslo. Because of the period of civil war, archbishop Øystein had to flee to England,[59] where he was fully in contact with the new born gothic style, and he probably brought all the entourage of an archbishop with him, which would include craftsmen, scribes, priests and many other bureaucrats and diverse orders of clerics.[60] In a similar way, these people got in contact with the fresher trends of European Christianity. The gothic structures, the ideas on the religious orders, especially those from Cister, the way of church governance centred in Rome (which was welcomed in many parts of England), and this all must have struck these people. When he returned to Norway, a new kind of church came into existence, influenced by all these different ideas; the church in Norway was to become a very productive centre of medieval spirituality. The importance of the Latin fragments for liturgical studies in Norway resides exactly at this point, because these fragments are the witnesses of the intense spiritual activity of the northernmost church of Europe.

[59] STOREMYR, Per. *The Stones of Nidaros. An Applied Weathering study of Europe's Northernmost Medieval Cathedral*. NTNU: Trondheim, 1997. p. 65-68

[60](http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?jid=SPC&volumeId=86&seriesId=0&issueId=02) KREINER, Jamie. *About the Bishop: The Episcopal Entourage and the Economy of Government in Post-Roman Gaul* in: *Speculum*, Volume 86, Issue 02, Published online by Cambridge University Press, 12 Apr 2011. Accessed in 01/08/2012.

PART II
BREVIARY: BOOK OF THE LITURGY

An epigraphic inscription of the 10th century under the portico of the Church of Santa Maria in Cosmedin, in Rome, formerly in the Church of Santo Valentino, gives a list of the principal liturgical books used at that time. It can be read in this inscription[61], that a certain Teubaldus had left the following books to the church of S. Valentino: a missal, two antiphonaries, two ferials, a passional, two hymnals, a book of genesis, and other canonical and liturgical ones. Under the tag of "liturgical books" there is a vast collection of manuscripts composed for various performances: books for masses, Divine Office, blessings, coronations, administration of sacraments, ordinations, etc. The books, either printed or handwritten, can be counted by thousands in the libraries. However, they differ from each other in many ways: the kind of script, the kind of rite or use, their origins and their functions.

Liturgical books can roughly be categorized in four groups: (1) the mass books, and here is included epistolary books, evangeliaries, missals, graduals, benedictionaries, etc.; (2) the books of the sacraments: rituals, pontificals and sacramentaries; (3) the books subordinated to other books, such as calendars, martyrologies, ceremonials of bishops, necrologies, legenda, etc.; (4) the books of the Divine Office, vesperals, diurnals, antiphonaries, lectionaries, books of hours, and the most important ones for this study, the breviaries. My objective in this part of the study is to present the breviaries as a whole and to place them among the other superabundant liturgical books, explaining how they did function and how their inner organization was.

In the very beginning of the Office, one single text was enough, the Holy Scripture. There was little difference, if any, between the mass of the catechumens (the

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61 "*Sume talentine martir hec dona Beate que tibi fert opifex Teubaldus corde benigno Hec itaque sunt que tibi beatissime Martir idem Teubaldus concessit quatinus sint in usum Sacerdòtum in perpetuum Do tibique hic servien tium id est domus duas solar atas junctas in vicino tuae Ecclae cellari juxta eandcm Ecclam Orticellum cum olivis retro Aecclam Sci Nicolai vineam in A ritornano Missalem I Antifonnria II unum diurni aliumque nocturni Officii Feriales II Librum Geneseos Cum Istoriis canonicis Passionarium Dialogarli cum Scintillano Imnaria II Librum ex Moralibus Calicem argenteufn exau ratum cum calamo et sua Patena Turibulum argenteum Manua lem l Si quis vo Beatissime Martir ex his que tibi a jam dicto Teu baldo ecessa sunt et vel ab ilio aut ab aliis concedentur temerario ausu aliquid abstulerit distraxerit vendiderit vel fraudaveril sit sepatus a Do omniumque Xpianor csortio quin et perpetuo per cussus anathemate atque cum diabolo et omnibus impiis junctus aeterno incendio exuratur Tempore Pontificis Noni Summique Johis est sacrata die supremo hec Aula Novembris dum quinta elaben tem Indictio curreret annum".* The transcription is mine.

moments of the mass which preceded the Eucharistic celebration) and the most ancient of all the Offices, the vigils, whose liturgical arrangement, from which other Offices have derived, can be seen in the celebration of Good Friday and Holy Saturday's vigil, that preserved many archaic forms up to the II Vatican Council. The breviary, like other liturgical books, was formed from various and diverse textual elements that were originally separate. The word itself signifies a digest, the digest of the liturgical collection used for the Divine Office. When an attempt was made to gather those many books used in the Office– lectionary, evangeliary, psaltery, benedictionary, antiphonary, etc. – into a portable form, some parts had to be shortened, especially the readings. The psalms and responses are the essential parts of the Office contained in a breviary, and they prevailed over the lections and readings[62].

When studying the medieval liturgy and its books, one dwells with an activity that congregated and reinforced values and ideals on which the society projected its artistic and intellectual capacities. It is important to resist a totalizing view of the liturgy as connected to the codex alone, because of the complete diversity and variability of its parts, both written (prayer and chant texts, lections, rubrics, etc.) and unwritten (the use of music, gestures, objects, etc.) The liturgy of the Divine Office was, for many medieval communities, one of the few chances to let creativity flow. The round of celebrations and prayer performed by the clergy is a more complex kind of liturgy and far more elaborated and extensive than the mass. Breviaries are larger and more difficult to use than missals. Their structure is intricate and kind of hermetic for the first time handler. It contains celebrations for the whole year and many separated parts which play their role together in one single liturgical act.

II. 1 - CONTENTS OF THE BREVIARY: THE LITURGICAL YEAR

The ecclesiastical year, covered by the breviary, normally starts in the first Sunday of the Advent and ends on the 24th Sunday after the Pentecost. It is formed by periods, time or liturgical seasons, which shape, in its conjunct, the "Proper of the Time" (Temporale). The *Temporale* means to show the events of Christ's life, from incarnation to passion and resurrection; in this way, the liturgical year is chiefly guided by those events related to the life of Jesus described in the gospels.

[62] HAMMEL, Christopher. *A History of the Illuminated Manuscripts*. London: Phaidon Press, 2010.

The celebration of the events of the life of Christ is divided in two main parts, the cycle of Christmas and the Cycle of Easter. Each one of these cycles is subdivided in "times" that prepares in anticipation or prolongation these two moments.

The Cycle of Christmas is formed by the Time of Advent (from Latin, *Adventus*, meaning "arrival"), compressing 4 weeks before the Time of Christmas. Lord's Nativity time goes from the 24th of December to the octave of the Epiphany, on the 13th of January.

Table 01 – The divisions of the liturgical year.

DIVISION OF THE *TEMPORALE*		NUMBER OF SUNDAYS
CHRISTMASTIDE	**Time of the Advent**	
	From the 1st Advent Sunday to the Christmas Vigil inclusive (24/12)	4
	Time of Christmas	
	From the Christmas Vespers (25/12) to the octave of Epiphany (13/01)	2 or 3
"*PER ANNUM*" TIME	*From the 14th of January to the first Sunday of the Septuagesima*	0 to 5
EASTERTIDE	**Time of the *Septuagesima***	
	From the First Sunday of the Septuagesima to Ash Wednesday	3
	Time of Lent or *Quadragesima*	
	From Ash Wednesday to Holy Saturday	6
	Time of Passion or Paschal *Triduum*	
	It begins with the vigil of Good Friday and ends with evening prayer on Easter Sunday.	1
	Time of Ester	
	From the Vespers of Easter Monday to the octave of Pentecost.	7
"*PER ANNUM*" TIME	*It begins with the Sunday of the Most Holy Trinity and ends on the Frist Sunday of the Advent.*	23 to 28

The Cycle of Easter is far more complex and it is the real centre of the liturgical year. A series of more or less 9 weeks introduces Easter in the church liturgy. The Time of the Septuagesima opens this cycle, followed by the Time of Lent (or Quadragesima), starting on Ash Wednesday (preceded by the carnival, which unfortunately was never very much liked by the Church) and ended by the Holy Saturday. Easter Sunday opens the Eastertide, which embodies the Feast of Ascension, and the Pentecost. The cycle is over on the celebration of the octave of Pentecost. From the octave of Pentecost, the so called "Sundays after Pentecost" start, beginning with the Sunday of the Most Holy

Trinity, embodying a long period of 23 to 28 weeks, called "*per annum*" or "common time".

Running parallel with the Temporale, there is the "Proper of the Saints", or Sanctorale, including all the feasts of the saints celebrated by the church (locally or generally) along the year. While the Sanctorale is normally composed by fixed dates for the celebrations, the Temporale is movable, given that the date of Easter varies every year. Throughout church history, the Sanctorale has often been changed and adapted to local traditions, which, most of the time, helps a lot on dating and localizing the origin of breviary manuscripts, like the BR16 which bears feasts of a typically local saint. St. Condedus (d. 685), celebrated on the 21st of October. He was a hermit at Fontaine Saint Valery, in Normandy; probably a Briton who later became a Benedictine monk, and after a time took an eremitical life on the island of Belcinae in the Seine. There, later a small monastic community began to grow around him. He is absolutely unknown outside the surroundings of the abbey which hold his mortal remains, Abbey of St. Wandrilleis, a Benedictine monastery in, Normandy, France[63], and found in a Norwegian fragment of the 12th century.

One important distinction one must always keep in mind while analysing the liturgy concerns the feasts celebrated by the clergy and those celebrated as public feast days. Not always the church feasts were public holidays. In the beginning of the Middle Ages, about twenty saints were celebrated publically: the days of the apostles, some feasts of BVM, John the Baptist, Lawrence, Michael, All Saints, and Martin[64]. Celebrations were included throughout time, some universally, some locally, but mostly regionally. Not always the organization of the church calendar followed the public celebration of local saints, and the holidays were not determined by their liturgical solemnity (*totum-duplex*, *duplex*, *semi-duplex*, *simplex*), but by the popularity of the saint; for instance, St. Asaph was much celebrated in Wales and some parts of Scotland, but totally unknown outside of those regions, surprisingly appearing in the Roman martyrology with a simplex feast[65].

At least, one must remember that a single and general interpretation of the medieval liturgical year is impossible to provide, because of the variations of its size at

[63] FARMER, David. *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p. 100.
[64] ATTWATER, Donald. *Dicionário dos Santos*. São Paulo: Círculo do Livro, 1983. pp. 2-8.
[65] POOLE. Reginald L. *Medieval Reckonings of Time*. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: London, 1921. pp. 11-20

any given time, place and circumstance. In Norway, in the early 1020s, Olav Haraldsson (995 – 1030) 'officially' introduced Christianity at the thing of Moster. At this meeting, the church regulations of the Older Gulathing Law were issued - they had been compiled with the aid of the bishop Grímkell (d. 1047). Subsequently, all the legal districts in Norway received similar ecclesiastical regulations;[66] church celebrations and holidays were officially introduced into the realm, but the liturgical calendar differed from other areas in Europe, especially because most of the time they did not follow a Roman standard model but the use of local cathedrals or monastic centres.

II. 2 - CONTENTS OF THE BREVIARY: THE LITURGICAL DAY

A fundamental distinction in the services of the medieval church is the one between the Holy Mass and the Divine Office. The Mass is a remembrance of the Eucharist, only performed by a priest, and the most important sacrament of the Church, celebrated always on the altar. As the heart of the Christian celebration, according to medieval understanding, the mass was an actualization of the Lord's passion, with the priest representing Christ himself, through ritual dramatization of the last supper[67]. The Mass included many fixed parts, some of which were properly composed and used for specific days, called the proper of the mass. Other parts were variable along the liturgical year, and they are called the ordinary of the mass.

The Divine Office was a fundamental celebration, which, beside the mass, was the communal prayer of the Church along the day. The Office was largely based on psalm recitation, lessons and readings, and distributed throughout the day at fixed hours. Such hours were counted according to the old Roman way of marking time and became the canonical hours: Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vesper and Compline. The Office was performed in choir, normally by the whole community, and it was not a sacramental service, but prayers and anthems in honour of Christ and the saints.

Never stopping prayer was the spiritual goal of the liturgy of the Office, a goal suggested by the New Testament: from the gospels to the apostolic letters, the reference to constant prayer is repeated frequently. The origin of how the canonical hours and the

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[66] SKRE, Dagfinn. Missionary Activity in Early Medieval Norway. Strategy, Organization and the Course of Events, in: Scandinavian Journal of History vol. 23. Stockholm, 1998. p. 8.

[67] REINBURG, Virginia. *Liturgy and the Laity in Late Medieval and Reformation France*, in: *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 23, No. 3, 1992. Accessed on 22/03/2011, in: http://www.jstor.org/stable/2542493.

Divine Office came into being is a long and unfinished story. However, it is generally accepted that the canonical hours practiced in almost all Latin churches were spread by St. Benedict's rule and the Western monasticism. The 16th chapter of the rule opens with: *septies in die laudem dixi tibi*, seven times a day have I praised you, (Ps 118:164), and thus, the sanctification of time in the daily cycle of praise and prayer became a norm for the Christian communities.

Table 02 - The Canonical Hours.

Hour	Time	Clock time for early spring.
Matins	The eighth hour of the night	02:00
Lauds	Day break	around 05:00
Prime	The first hour of the day	06:00
Terce	The third hour of the day	09:00
Sext	The sixth hour of the day	12:00 (noon)
None	The ninth hour of the day	15:00
Vespers	Before dawn	around 17:30
Compline	Before sleeping	

Not much has changed in the basic structure of the Office since the time of St. Benedict and his rule. However, the traditions of the city of Rome played their part in the formation of the western Office before the Benedictine rule. It dates back to the 4th century Rome, when there existed already a monastic *cursus* used by the religious communities associated with the great urban basilicas (coexisting with that of the cathedrals). In the 6th century, St. Benedict used the Roman monastic Office to establish the liturgy of the canonical hours of his foundation. Although all authors agree that the Benedictine Office derived from the Roman one, in the course of the centuries, the Benedictine and the Roman Offices took different routes to reach heaven and formed two distinct liturgical unities. During the High Middle Ages, the elements of prayer of the Office, as defined in the Benedictine rule, were enriched, changing the basic structure of the Roman Office[68].

Tradition says that Gregorio Magno, the first pope who was a monk, reformed the Office. It cannot be properly verified if it is actually true, but one thing is for sure: he used the Benedictine monasticism as an instrument for the propagation of Christianity to northern Europe and to Britain, and missionary monks, unquestionably carried with them the books for the Office celebration. From Britain, the canonical

[68] TAFT, Robert. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Minessota, 1993. pp. 134-140.

hours and most of the basic structure of the Office moved on to Germany under the mission directed by St. Bonifacius (d. 755), also a monk. By the 8th century, the Canonical Hours, in the format described, started to spread all over the Latin Christendom, with the exception of the Iberian Peninsula (which followed the Mozarab rite). However, the efforts to impose a liturgical uniformity to the Latin Church did not come from popes, but from Carolingian rulers. On what seems to have been a family vocation, Pepin III, his son, Charlemagne and his grandson, Pepin the Short, favoured the establishment of an unified Office (that of Roman origin) beyond the Alps and further north. Eventually, Gregorio VII imposed the Roman Office everywhere[69]. The monastic *cursus* was to be confined to those communities that followed the Benedictine rule; and the Roman *cursus* to be used in cathedrals, secular and parochial churches, and also by some religious houses whose members were not contemplative monks but friars and canons.

During the whole Middle Ages, both Roman and monastic Offices were in use, with local adaptations and new liturgical compositions, and in some places there was even a mixture between them both. With the movements of monastic reform, especially that of Cluny, the Office suffered a considerable inflation. In contrast, the reform of the Roman liturgy by the curia in the 13th century - revised by the general master of the Franciscan order, Haymo of Faversham (d. 1244), who made the Roman Office a Franciscan one - contributed to ascertain the Roman Office as the model for the whole Church. This followed the dissemination of a new "media", the breviary, the Office book per excellence. The pompous Cluniac liturgical forms were put to a strict diet to fit better the needs of a non-regular clergy, who had more to do than to pray all day along.

Indeed, the important differences between the two *cursus* are more evident when it is compared how they celebrated each of the canonical hours; nevertheless, certain common features remain at the root of any *cursus*, Roman or monastic: notably the Psalter as the main source of the psalmody and the Scripture as the main source of the lessons. The medieval breviaries adopted this disposition, generally inspired by the liturgical sources of Roman, German, Gallican and even British origin. The fragments which are dealt with in this thesis are no exception, and do follow the same structure for the canonical hours and the inner organization of each Office.

[69] *Apud*. CROSS, F. L. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. pp. 1184/85.

a) **Matins**: The Matins were the longest of the canonical hours, and along with Lauds and Vesper, the most important ones. It contains three parts: the opening; the middle section, consisting of one or two nocturns; and a closing section, also called 3rd Nocturn. The length and composition of the Matins varied according to the feast and the *cursus*:

Table 03 - Matins.

Roman *Cursus*			**Monastic *Cursus***		
	Festal format	**Ferial Format**		**Festal format**	**Ferial Format**
Opening	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	**Opening**	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*
	Invitatory + Ps. 94	Invitatory + Ps. 94		Invitatory + Ps. 94	Invitatory + Ps. 94
	Hymn	Hymn		Hymn	Hymn
First Nocturn	3 Antiphons + 3 psalms	Antiphon + 2 psalms	**First Nocturn**	Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + 2 psalms
	Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + 2 psalms		Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + 2 psalms
	Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + 2 psalms		Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + 2 psalms
	Versicle	Antiphon + 2 psalms		Antiphon + psalm	Versicle
	Antiphon + responsories	Antiphon + 2 psalms		Antiphon + psalm	
	Antiphon + responsories	Versicle		Antiphon + psalm	
	Antiphon + responsories	Responsory		Versicle	
Second Nocturn	Antiphon + psalm	Lesson		Responsory	
	Antiphon + psalm	Responsory		Lesson	
	Antiphon + psalm	Lesson		Responsory	
	Versicle	Responsory		Lesson	
Third Nocturn	Antiphon + responsories	Lesson		Responsory	
	Antiphon + responsories	Responsory		Lesson	
	Antiphon + responsories	Lesson		Responsory	
		Responsory		Lesson	
		Lesson	**Second Nocturn**	Antiphon + psalm	Responsory
		Responsory		Antiphon + psalm	Lesson
		Lesson		Antiphon + psalm	Responsory
Closing	*Te Deum*	*Te Deum*		Antiphon + psalm	Lesson
	Collect	Collect		Antiphon + psalm	Responsory
	V. Dominus vobiscum	*V. Dominus vobiscum*		Antiphon + psalm	Lesson
	V. Benedicamos Dominus	*V. Benedicamos Dominus*		Versicle	Alleluia antiphon
	V. Fidelium animae	*V. Fidelium animae*		4 Responsories + 4 Lessons	(3 antiphons in lent) + 6 psalms
		V. Fiat nisericordia tua			Chapter
					Versicle
			Third Nocturn	3 Antiphons + 3 Old Testament Canticles	
				Versicle	
				4 Responsory + 4 lessons	
			Closing	*Te Deum*	*Te Deum*
				Gospel	Gospel
				Te decet Laus	*Te decet Laus*
				Collect	*Kyrie*

				V. *Dominus vobiscum*	Collect
				V. *Benedicamos Dominus*	V. *Dominus vobiscum*
				V. *Fidelium animae*	V. *Benedicamos Dominus*
					V. *Fidelium animae*

b) **Lauds**: This canonical hour keeps the same structure in the monastic and the Roman *cursus*, with some small differences between the ferial and festal days.

Table 04 – Lauds.

Roman Cursus and Monastic Cursus	
Ferial Format	**Festal Format**
V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + Benedicte (Dan 3:56-58)	Antiphon + Old Testament canticle
Antiphon + psalms 148-149-150	Antiphon + psalms 148-149-151
Chapter	Chapter
Responsory	Responsory (the same of the Matins)
Hymn	Hymn
Versicle	Versicle
Antiphon + Benedictus (Luke 1:68-79)	Antiphon + Benedictus (Luke 1:68-79)
	Kyrie (advent, lent and feast days)
Collect	Collect
V. Dominus vobiscum	*V. Dominus vobiscum*
V. Benedicamos Dominus	*V. Benedicamos Dominus*
V. Fidelium animae	*V. Fidelium animae*

c) **Prime, Terce, Sext and None**: The so called little or minor hours are those celebrated during the day and present little variation between the two *cursi*, like Lauds. Prime, Terce, Sext and None were first introduced in the monastic *cursus* only, especially in the monastic houses of Benedictine rule and in the Roman basilicas served by such communities, and were always shorter when compared to others; nonetheless, early they were spread out of the City, and became common practice in and out of the monastic houses.

Table 05 – The Minor Hours.

Roman and Monastic Cursus		
Prime		**Terce, Sext and None**
Ferial Format	**Festal Format**	**Ferial and Festal Format**
V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*
Hymn *(Iam lucis orto sidere)*	Hymn *(Iam lucis orto sidere)*	Hymn
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm

Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + pslam	Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
	Antiphon + psalm	Chapter
	Quicumque (Athanasian creed)	Short responsory
Chapter	Chapter	Versicle
Short responsory	Short responsory	Collect
Versicle	Versicle	*V. Dominus vobiscum*
Collect	Preces	*V. Benedicamos Dominus*
	Collect	*V. Fidelium animae*
V. Dominus vobiscum	*V. Dominus vobiscum*	
V. Benedicamos Dominus	*V. Benedicamos Dominus*	
	V. Fidelium animae	

d) **Vespers**: this canonical hour does not show many different features from one *cursus* to the other beside the number of psalms (and, therefore, of antiphons). It is one of the oldest parts of the Divine Office, and may even appear in some liturgical books as "*lucernarium*", because of the candle lights on its celebration; however, not exceptionally, it was celebrated in the Middle Ages during day light.

Table 06 - Vespers.

Roman	**Monastic**
V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm
Antiphon + psalm	Chapter
Chapter	
Responsory	Responsory
Hymn	Hymn
Versicle	Versicle
Antiphon + Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55)	Antiphon + Magnificat (Luke 1:46-55)
Preces (for festal days, advent and lent)	
Collect	Collect
V. Dominus vobiscum	*V. Dominus vobiscum*
V. Benedicamos Dominus	*V. Benedicamos Dominus*
V. Fidelium animae	*V. Fidelium animae*

e) **Compline**: Preceded by a small lesson and silent prayer, the Compline was the last canonical hour, before retiring for the night. It was followed by a small memorial in honour of the BVM. In the monastic tradition, the psalms are the same everyday (Ps. 4, 91 and 134); in the Roman *cursus*, they vary according to the day of the week. Compline seldom represents a proper part of feast days.

Table 07 - Compline.

Roman	**Monastic**
V. *Deus in Adjutorim*	V. *Deus in Adjutorim*
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm 4
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm 91
Antiphon + psalm	Antiphon + psalm 133
Chapter	Antiphon + psalm 31:1-6
	Chapter
Short Responsory	Short Responsory
Antiphon + *Nunc dimitis* (Luke 2:29-32)	Antiphon + *Nunc dimitis* (Luke 2:29-32)
Preces (for some feasts)	Preces (for some feasts)
Collect	Collect
	Memorial of the BVM
V. Dominus vobiscum	*V. Dominus vobiscum*
V. Benedicamos Dominus	*V. Benedicamos Dominus*
Blessing	Blessing

II. 3 - THE BREVIARY AS BOOK: THE BIRTH OF THE CODEX.

The gathering of all these different elements of the Office in one single volume has its origin[70] in the early 11th century, particularly connected to the raise of small communities which needed one single book, instead of many, for the celebration of the Office. Such small communities could not afford the confection of all those necessary books for the Divine Office, and so, in the course of the 11th century, the single volume appeared, moderate-sized, containing all the necessary material for the celebration. Another reason pointing to the appearance of the breviary was the increasing practice of private recitation of the Office, which became progressively more common, especially with a more mobile clergy[71] associated to the new Franciscan and Dominican orders. When the same person had to carry the functions of choir, lector, soloist, officer and assembly, not to mention the alternate psalmody and responsorial, it became meaningless to have all these texts in many volumes, and then, the practice of binding them all together became standard. Once the formula was found, it was applied to choir and monastic breviaries as well. *Breviarium sive ordo officiorum per totan anni decursionem*, "brief synopsis or order for the Offices of the entire year", is probably the title where the term breviary came from. Since the 11th century, the breviaries started to be produced by the Pope's chapel, and it was this model of breviary that was adopted

[70] Wilkins, 1737. p. 238
[71] SALMON, Pierre. *The Breviary Through the Centuries.* Collegeville, USA: The Liturgical Press, 1962. pp. 111-112.

later by the Franciscan Order and was broadly known through out Europe[72]. The consequences of these changes are visible in the Norwegian manuscripts studied here: the rejection of a heavy and thick lettering in favor of fine and slender script; suppression of the musical notation in many parts made for the choir; indications of incipit and references instead of the complete texts and the shorten of the length of the lessons, maximum use of the space available. Breviary 16 (BR16), is a perfect example of the maximum usage of space of the parchment. Twenty-three fragments, representing 16 folios, of which only seven (ff. 3, 8-10, 13, 15-16) are whole, measuring 310x200mm, with written space of 240x120/130mm, from 30 to 33 lines per page. It also contains rubrics in red, some initials decorated with spirals, animals or the usual circular points, alternately coloured in blue, red and green. The parts that have musical notations contain 5 red lines, not filled with notes, except for Fragments 1768(1035) and 1768(1035,2), including the common prayer of the holy virgins, and it has an erratum written by a Anglo-Norman scribe, correcting an antiphon for Saint Peter. It is a breviary which is an evidence for much of practical use rather than any aesthetic preoccupation from the scribe, and which was composed for the function of the Office in a monastic community.

II. 4 - CONTINENTAL SOURCES IN THE FORMATION OF THE DIVINE OFFICE OF THE BREVIARY FRAGMENTS.

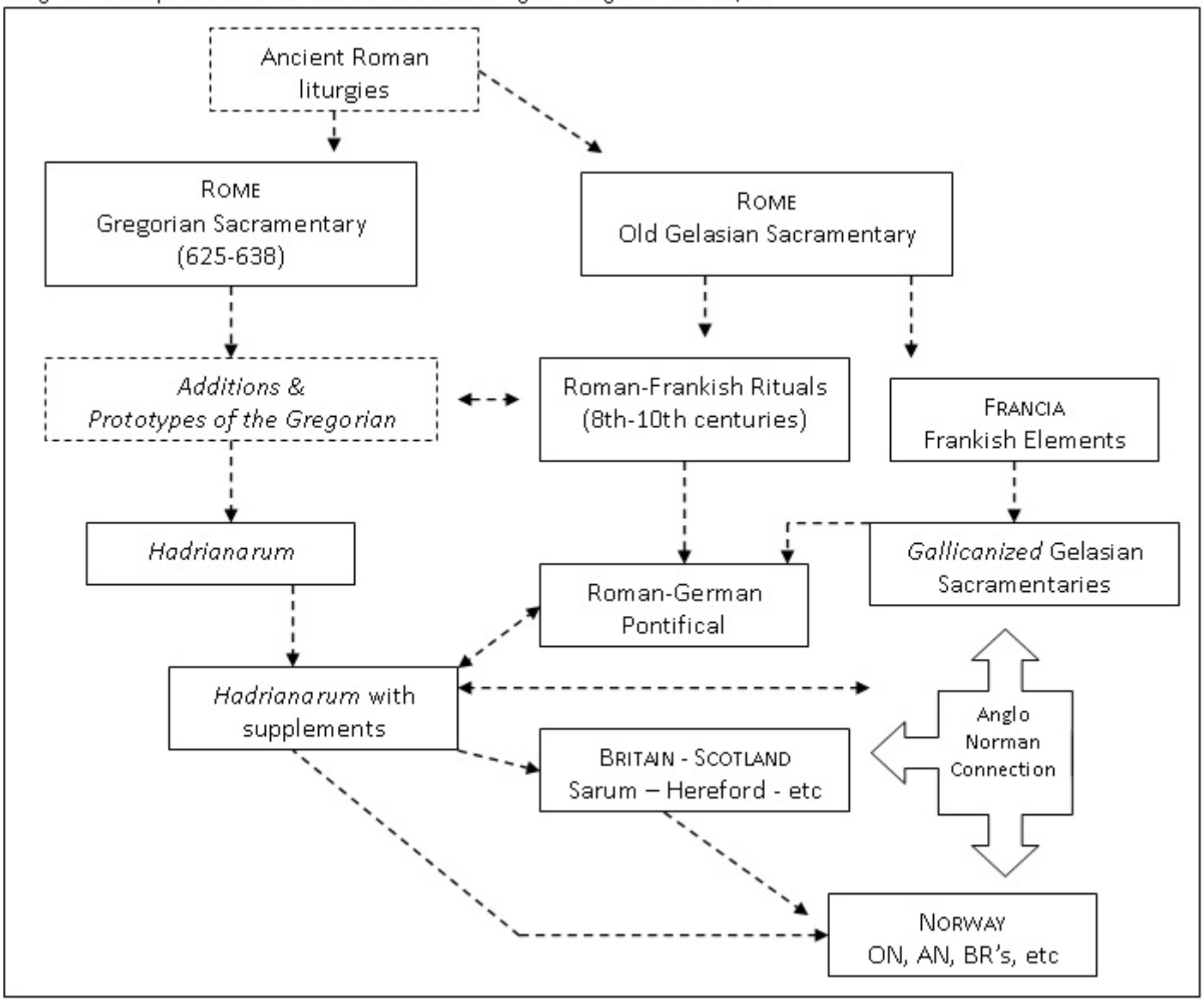
Beside the difference between the two *cursus* of the Divine Office, the liturgical components of every Office in both traditions are very much the same: psalms, hymns, versicles, chapters, lessons and antiphons.

The basis of the text is derived from the Bible, and followed a more or less regular structure in all traditions; in fact, the oldest description of integral reading of the Bible in the Office is monastic and represents the custom of the community of the Basilica of S. Pietro, in Rome, in the second half of the 7th century, probably dating from an even earlier tradition[73]. The lessons had already appeared in the Benedictine rule, organized according to the season: *"Let three lessons be read by the brethren in turn from a book or a lectern, and a Responsory be sung after each one (…) The books*

[72] *Idem*, pp. 28-41
[73] ANDRIEU, Michel. *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen Âge, Vol III*. Louvain: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense Administration, 1951. p. 25.

to be read at the nigh Office, however, are the divinely inspired books of both the Old and New Testaments, together with explanations of them which have been made by well known orthodox, catholic fathers"[74]; and we can say with relative assurance that the core of the sermons and lessons used in the Divine Office were formed as early as the 8th century. Actually, the oldest collection of lessons formed with the purpose to be read in the liturgy of the Divine Office dates from this time. These are the homiliary of Bede (d. 735) and the collections of Agimundus (d. 730), Alan of Farla (d. 770?), Iginus of Verona (d. 800?), Paul the Deacon (d.782-786) and Leo lo Schifo (d. 855?)[75].

Fig. 01 – Principal sources for the formation of Norwegian liturgical manuscripts.



Source: Adaptation of the table in: VOGUEL, Cyrille. *Medieval liturgy. An Introduction to the Sources*. Portland: Pastoral Press, 1986. p. 400.

[74] FRY, Timothy. *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict*. Liturgical Press: Collegeville, 1981. Cap. IX
[75] CROSS, F. L. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005. p. 790.

The reading of the passion of the martyrs and the legend of saints was also common in the Office, and St. Augustine had already refered to the reading of the acts of holy men. The oldest witness to this habit is the Lectionary of Luxeuil[76], written in the end of the 7th century, and the introduction of this kind of reading in the Office dates from the time of pope Hadrianus I (772-795), who wrote to Charlemagne in 794 saying that on the anniversary of a saint and martyr, their passion should be read in the churches and monasteries.[77] Another major distinction between the parts of the Office is that the readings of the Temporale are drawn mainly from the Scripture, while those of the Sanctorale are mainly from sermons and hagiographical material.

The other elements of the Office were the psalmodic praise and the moments of prayer, named "the collects". The psalms have been used in liturgy since the beginning of Christianity and the hymns, which were of ecclesiastical composition, were introduced in the liturgy as early as the 6th century. St. Ambrosius of Milan (ca. 330 – 397) had already mentioned their presence in the liturgy, and many of them are attributed to him. Being so, the formative period of the complete Office (as described above) in the Latin Church was already over by the second half of the 8th century.

During the first phase of its distribution, between the 6th and 7th centuries, the liturgy of the Office (secular and monastic) reached and began to be spread over the Frankish territories north of the Alps.

In the beginning, it was a result of individual efforts, but soon the dissemination was supported and encouraged by Frankish rulers. The Gregorian sacramentary, a liturgical collection originated by these royal enterprises over the liturgy is the most emblematic example of this royal strategy. The name is given to a group of liturgical books traditionally attributed to S. Gregorio Magno (only traditionally, very much the same as the case of the so called Gregorian chant, which cannot be linked to any direct Gregorian influence). The most important of these books is known as the *Hadrianarum*, probably composed in Rome (c. 630), and its attribution to Gregorio is not correct, as it includes the mass of the commemoration of his own festal day. The sacramentary is mainly known as a result of the copy that was sent to Charlemagne (c. 790) by pope Hadrianus I, pope from 772 to 795 (hence the name "*Hadrianarum*"), fulfilling the monarch's request to promote liturgical unity in the Carolingian empire. To overcome some missing liturgical performances, practiced by the Church north of the Alps and not

[76] ANDRIEU, Vol. III, 1951. p. 148.
[77] *Idem*, Vol. II, 1951. p. 466.

known in Rome, several supplements were added to the sacramentary. Its chief supplement is called *Hucusque*, attributed to Benedict of Aniane and Alcuin of York.

The *Hucusque* - along with other supplements, and yet, of a not very clear origin - made the *Hadrianarum* complete for the entire liturgical year of the Carolingian Church. The now so called *Hadrianarum with supplements* was also the liturgical guide of a famous compilation in St. Albens Abbey, in Mainz, circa 950, which gave origin to the Romano-Germanic Pontifical of the 10th century. In her monumental works about the liturgy of the diocese of Nidaros, Lilli Gjerløw clearly confirms the connection between both the Gregorian Sacramentary, and therefore the *Hadrianarum* with the liturgy found in medieval liturgical books of Norway, especially in *Ordo Nidrosiensis*.

II. 5 – Insular Sources in the formation of the Divine Office of the Breviary Fragments.

The whole progression was one of transmission, agglutination and hybridization. The texts of the Divine Office were never simply replaced for one another, they amalgamated and modified one another and even the dominant liturgical texts of the large abbeys and Roman basilicas were changed in this on-going process. In *strictu sensu*, to mention all the places that in a sense were connected to the formation of the liturgical texts housed nowadays in the Norwegian archives would be impossible. In *latu sensu*, I present below some of the more representative and famous ones, especially those related to the Anglo-Norman world, whose presence is to be strongly felt in many manuscripts of the breviaries here analyzed.

In medieval canon law, as regarded by the sacraments, and also in the more solemn commemorations, the custom of the Roman Church had to be followed; but when it came to the Divine Office and more common services, each Church preserved its own traditions (*Decretum Gratiani*, c. IV., d. 12)[78]. In this way, a number of "uses", or rites, came into being, singular liturgical customs which prevailed in a particular diocese or group of dioceses. A prayer, a liturgical vest or a specific kind of melodic harmony were some peculiarities, amongst many others, that could be found in profuse diversity throughout European churches and monasteries. In this study, as part of the analysis, there is a comparison of the liturgical texts of the fragments to liturgical

[78] RICHTERI, Aemilii Ludovici. *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Graz: Akademische Druck, 1959. p. 27

traditions, specific rites from the Latin Christendom, in order to establish which area, or areas, had a deeper influence on the constitution of the Office celebration in Norway.

One place where such mixtures always took place, and whose liturgy was always particular, in a sense, is the British Isles. Since the time of early Christianization, when compared to other parts of Europe, the celebration there was peculiar, and a peculiar place in there is of special interest for the study of the Norwegian fragments: Salisbury.

Sarum Use was the ritual of the cathedral church of Salisbury, a modification of the Roman rite. St. Osmund is conventionally ascribed as responsible for the compilation and organization of the rite. He was Norman by birth, but fled to England with William the Conqueror, where he became his chaplain until 1072, when he was promoted his chancellor. In 1078, he was made bishop of Salisbury. Osmund finished the construction of the local cathedral, and the organization he gave to the chapter served as a model for many others in England[79]. In the Middle Ages, the *Sarum* Use was increasingly followed – wholly or in part - by other churches, especially in the northern part of Europe, and it influenced the formation of other rites, including the *Ordo Nidrosiensis*. *Sarum* was already well recognized in the 13th century, but its origins date from much earlier. The traditional attribution to St. Osmund (d. 1099) says that, with the consent of the chapter, he settled some rules for worship. In 1256, these rules were claimed "*as they were the sun in the heavens whose rays shed light upon other churches*",[80] and even earlier in the 13th century, the expression *ordinale sarum* appeared quite commonly[81] in England and beyond. In 1228, pope Gregorio IX affirmed that the institutions of St. Osmund had been followed in the major part of England[82] and the use of *Sarum* had become very solidly established. We know that the missionary activity and the foundation of many monastic houses have been associated to the Christianizing enterprise from England to Norway since the time of the so-called "missionary kings", what makes it almost obvious that the *Sarum* rite is to be found profusely in the liturgical books of the realm.

Of all the English centers of liturgical production, *Sarum* is far the most witnessed in Norway, but it is not alone. The general features of these medieval English

[79] ATTWATER, Donald. *Dicionário dos Santos*. São Paulo: Círculo do Livro, 1983. p. 228.
[80] *Constitutiones Aegidi Saresbirnensis Episcopi*, 1256, in: WILKINS, David. *Concilia* vol. I. London: 1737. p. 715.
[81] In 1223, the Bishop of St. Davis, and then, in 1226, the bishop of Winchester determined that the *Sarum* rite should be followed in their territories. *Cf*. HADDAN, A. W. and STUBBS, W. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* Vol. I. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1869. p. 459; DUNGALE, Willian. *Monasticon Anglicanum* Vol. VI part III. Ellis and Bandiel: London, 1830. p. 1344.
[82] Wilkins, 1737. p. 562.

Uses are fairly represented by the peculiarities of the *Sarum* Rite. In the south of England, and in the midlands, the ceremonial was regulated by the *Sarum* Use, but in a greater part of the North, the Use of York prevailed; nevertheless, other chapters and sees also had some local or regional influence: Hereford, Peterborough, Durham, to mention the most frequent ones[83].

York was a strong ecclesiastical hub which rivalled with other English sees for the primacy over the country, and in fact, under the pontificate of Callistus II (d. 1124), it was even released from the supremacy of Canterbury, in 1119. The dispute between the two prelates was only put to an end by Innocentius VI (1282-1362), who decided that the Archbishop of Canterbury was to have the precedence and the title of "*Primate of all England*" and that of York should be called "*Primate of England*"[84]. Regarding the liturgy, York had some distinctive marks. There was a larger number of hymns employed there than in *Sarum*. In the Divine Offic, there were also some small variations from the practice of both of *Sarum* and of the secular *cursus*.[85] The most particular aspect, common to both *Sarum* and York, is the commemoration of some saints (mostly the Conversion of St. Paul, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, and St. Lawrence), as both used versicles attached to every antiphon of the canonical hours. York had also its special calendar and special proper feasts[86].

Another place whose influence can be traced in the liturgical fragments of breviaries present in the Riksarkivet is Peterborough. This diocese, previously part of the Lincoln diocese, was officially founded in 1541, and Peterborough Abbey became its Cathedral, although the initial foundation of a religious house in the area is much older. Peterborough Abbey was created in the mid-seventh century (655?), and through its long history, it became a large and very prolific centre of manuscript production. Most of its extant fabrication is housed nowadays in the British Library. Some of the most famous and celebrated books produced there is the *Peterborough Psalter*[87], which has a curious combination with a bestiary, completed before 1222, and the generally

[83] FRERE, Walter Howard and BROWN, Langton E. G. *The Hereford Breviary*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915. pp. vii-lxvii.
[84] Cross, 2005. p. 1786.
[85] MASKELL, William. *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England*. London: William Pickering, 1846. pp. i-xviii
[86] HENDERSON, W. G. *The York Missal*. Durham: Surtees Society, 1874. pp. 251, 271
[87] THOLL, Susan E. Von Daum. *Life According to the Rule: A Monastic Modification of Mandatum Imagery in the Peterborough Psalter*. In: *Gesta* Vol. 33, No. 2: Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994. pp. 151-158.

neglected *Barberini Gospels*[88]. The liturgical use of Peterborough was closely associated to the Gregorian Sacramentary and the *Hadrianarum* with supplements, and shared many equal points with those uses from Ely and Winchester.[89]

Durham's Bishopric is also worth of mention, for even the liturgical texts of the *Ordo*, and others, witness its presence in the Norwegian material[90]. Its foundation dates from 995, with the present cathedral being founded in 1093. It was an important centre of liturgical production, and its medieval library is well-known. It is usually referred to as one of the finest examples of a Norman cathedral in Europe, and its dedication is to Christ, BMV and to St. Cuthbert of Durham. At the time of its foundation, Durham was located in the county of Northumberland, the only surviving part of the ancient Anglo-Saxon kingdom, occupied by the Norsemen in the north and then by the Scots in the south. As the Scots continued, at times, to pose a threat, Durham maintained the dual character of ecclesiastical see and border fortress throughout the Middle Ages. In addition to the jurisdiction of the Church in the late 12th century, the bishopric also acquired political power in the area between Tyne and Tees, a region known as the palatinate of Durham, which maintained a state of semi-independence far into the Middle Ages[91]. Durham's liturgical tradition can be traced as early as the 12th century, and it is in a missal from the 14th century that it can be seem fully organized in one single text, Durham Missal (BL Harley 5289). For their geographical proximity, Durham often rivalled with York in liturgical matters, and according to Richard Pfaff in his research about the medieval liturgy in England, some tension can even be traced between the two sees[92].

Hereford Cathedral, which is renowned for its remarkable *Mappa Mundi* from the end of the 13th century, is also a strong presence in the breviaries I analysed. It is a 7th century foundation, with its headquarters never seriously disturbed by the Norse or other invaders. Hereford has always been a secular cathedral, famous for keeping its own "Hereford Use", not using the *Sarum* Rite. It had its own Breviary and Missal, and portions of the its medieval antiphonary have also survived. Liturgical books with the

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[88] BROWN, Michelle. *The Barberini Gospels: Context and Intertextuality*, *in*: MINNIS, Alastair and ROBERTS, Jane. (ed.). *Text, image, interpretation; studies in Anglo-Saxon literature and its insular context in honour of Eamonn O Carragain*. Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2007. pp. 89-116.
[89] PFAFF, Richard W. *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. p. 90.
[90] Gjerløw, 1968. pp. 324-325, 390.
[91] "*Durham*", in: *Enciclopedia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. 14. Roma: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1950.
[92] Pfaff, 2009. p. 182-183, 445.

distinctive ritual of Hereford are available as early as the late 12th century, but a specific liturgical use can be traced down to the time of the Norman Conquest[93].

Although these two main trunks of Western liturgy, continental and insular influences, were in the formative base of the celebrations of the Church in Norway, there are still some missing areas not mentioned above. In fact, it is impossible, for the purpose of this thesis, to describe, in a more detailed way, all the presences and parallels traced in the fragmented breviaries; however, it is worth to mention the presence of two places in Normandy: (1) the Abbey of Fleury, traditionally said to be founded in 640(?), which, by the mid-ninth century, had one of the largest libraries ever assembled in the West the abbey played a considerable part in the monastic revival in England, in the 10th century; (2) Fécamp Abbey: the monastery of the Most Holy Trinity dates from the 7th century and the community of monks grew around a relic of the Holy Blood. The construction of a church began in 659, but in 841 it was victim of a Vikings attack. Around the year 1000, the abbey started to be restored and was placed under the protection of the Duchy of Normandy. Duke Richard II (978/83 -1026) brought the Italian William of Volpiano (962 – 1031) to restore the monastery. This time, the Benedictine monks lived there and ensured its prosperity. The proximity between the ducal palace and the Holy Trinity forefronted this monastic house as one of the most prominent and influential of Norman abbeys.[94]

II. 6 – *SANCTE ET ORBIS*: THE PRESENCE OF A NORWEGIAN SAINT OUTSIDE NORWAY

The entrance of Norway in the Christian world of Western Europe started around the 9th century and was the result of multiple contacts with the continent, from the Viking expeditions to commercial links and cultural exchange. The missionary activities were carried out by priests and monks mainly from England and, in some degree, also from Germany. For some time, the Church was under the command of different authorities: first of the archbishop of Bremen-Hamburg and later of the archbishopric of Lund in Skåne, which was created in 1104; yet, the king was the real commander of the Church. The answer of King Haraldr Sigurðarson (ca. 1015-1066) to the legates of archbishop Adalbert of Hamburg is emblematic and serves to illustrate the situation very well: *"I know of no other power or archbishop in Norway, other than me*

[93] *Idem*, p. 463.
[94] SHEERIN, Daniel J. *The Ordinal of the Abbey of the Holy Trinity Fécamp*. In: *The Catholic Historical Review, Volume 93, 4*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 2007. pp. 907-908

alone, Harald"[95]. Conversely, even under the control of the monarchy, Church and clergy were not isolated. As early as the 11th century, a solidly established Church was in full functionality in Norway, and after analysing all these breviaries and their features, one can, one can perfectly understand that this Church was not far away in the fringes of Christendom. Indeed, the Church in Norway was in constant, not to say permanent, contact with the newest trends of the Western Christianity from its early times.

After the creation of the archiepiscopal see of Nidaros, this contact with Christendom was even more intensified, for there was no filter between the Church in Norway and the other local churches neither between the Holy See and the see of Nidaros.

Medieval representations of the world in a map almost assumed the form defined by the Christian model of interpretation. Although the reproduction of references from the Classical Antiquity in the West Christian medieval world can still be seen represented in some maps[96], showing the Earth and the extension of its living area (*oikoumene - ecumene*) as a flat surface, a disc, surrounded on all sides by "River Ocean", the Bible indeed became the norm for the interpretation of geography. Medieval maps obeyed the description of Genesis: a world divided through the sons of Noah (Shem, Ham and Japheth), in three parts, was the most common map disposition in the Middle Ages. Also, in this representation of the world, the central position was always given to the most important city of all: Jerusalem, for there the Saviour lived, died and resurrected[97]. Jerusalem was more than a city; it was an abstract symbol in Christianity. This symbol represented the concreteness of the sacred place, the centrality of the ideals of salvation, holiness and authority, and this was not only related to the physical Jerusalem, but also to the spiritual one, as described by the Bible in the Book of Revelation. This ideal of a spiritual Jerusalem was soon appropriated by the papacy in its centralization attempts, as discussed in the first part of this thesis, but by association with other local centres of spiritual effervescence. Many *Jerusalens* existed in the medieval vision of the cosmos; many places were salvation, and proximity with the divine could be achieved: Santiago de Compostela, Rome, Byzantium, Our Lady of

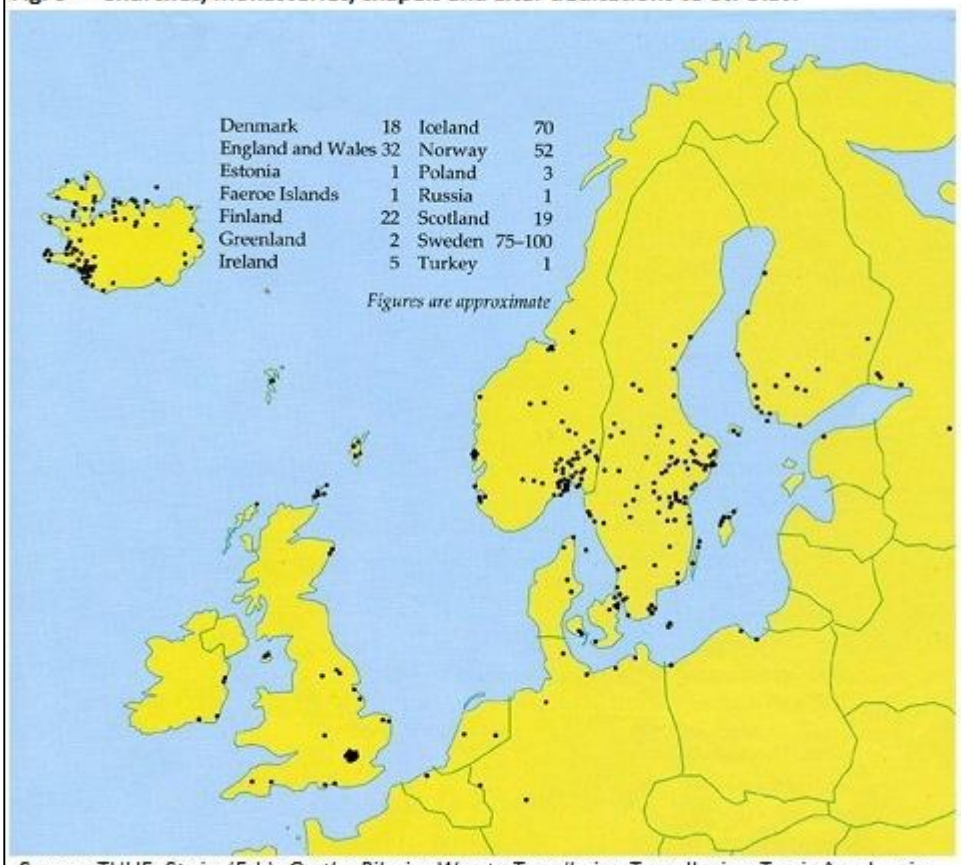
[95] "*Ad haec mandata commotus ad iram tyrannus, legatos pontificis spretos abire praecepit, clamitans, se nescire, quis sit archiepiscopus aut potens in Norvegia, nisi solus Haroldus*" In: Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis ecclesiae pontificum*, book III, 16.
[96] NADDAF, Gerard. *The Greek Concept of Nature*. New York: SUNY, 2005. pp. 100, 201.
[97] BÜNTING, Heinrich. *Die eigentliche und warhafftige gestalt der Erden und des Meers. Cosmographia universalis.* Magdeburg: Brunswick, 1581.

Walsingham, St. Denis and, in the context of this study, St. Olav's Shrine in Nidaros. Rome was the centre of the Western Church and Nidaros became the centre of the Christian faith in Norway, a kind of local Jerusalem: a place for church administration, hierarchy, promulgation of canon law, liturgy and spirituality. Nonetheless, this shall not be understood as opposition or competition, but in fact as a paralleled relation between these two centres of Christian faith. The contact Rome-Nidaros lasted until the time of the Reformation, in the 16th century.

Released from the king and other archiepiscopal see's tutelage, the erection of Nidaros manifested a new spirit of institutional confidence and maturity for the Church in Norway, without precedents. The Nidaros Ordinal is an evidence of such spirit of self-assurance; initiated under archbishop Øystein Erlendsson, it shows a developed level of maturity of the Church and its hierarchy. On organizing the divine service not solely based on imported models, but on the growing local traditions, one can perceive that the production of Office services was not accidental or incidental but the result of deliberate strategies of experienced churchmen, educated into the liturgical arts of medieval Christianity.

For the analysis of the fragments, it is important to keep two things in mind: first of all, that the Church in Norway was never isolated from its European context. As a matter of fact, the situation was the opposite, as it has been argued along this thesis. The ideals of Gregorian reform, such as Church autonomy and rights towards the monarchy soon rooted on the mentality of the Church, and its place and dignity within the society was strengthened. Secondly, it is important to keep in mind that the liturgical manuscripts are mirrors of such "church of meetings". In their works about the liturgical material in Norway, Gjerløw, Ommundsen, Krucknberg, Haug and others always mention the many layers of liturgical influence in the composition of the manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts they dealt with. These studies dedicated a large part of their scope underlining the relations between Nidaros and its suffragans with major, and minor, continental and insular Christian centres.

Fig. 02 - Churches, monasteries, chapels and altar dedications to St. Olav.



Source: THUE, Stein (Ed.). *On the Pilgrim Way to Trondheim*. Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 1988. p. 49

The map above demonstrates well the presence of St. Olav's churches and dedications and that of the most typical Norwegian saint in diverse parts of Europe. The spirituality associated with the cult of St. Olav is an indication of the connections and contacts of the Norwegian Church. In the Scandinavian area, many churches were dedicated to St. Olav, 75 in Sweden, around 20 in Denmark around, at least 13 in Finland and 70 in Iceland; 45 churches in the British Isles, four of them in London; and one on the Faeroes, Olav's church at Kyrkjebø. The commemoration of the saint also occurs in calendars in London, Norwich, Exeter, Winchester and York, as well as in the monastic ones in Ramsey, Sherborne, Abootsbury, Launceston, Syon and Wellow[98]. In continental Europe, there were Olav chapels in Amsterdam and Maastricht, in the Netherlands, and in Gdansk, Poland. In Germany, St. Olav is primarily characterized through altars dedications and often represented in art, such as the stone altar of the Cistercian Ziesar abbey, in Brandenburg. There are Olav altars also in Bremen, Rostock and Stralsund, in addition to one church in Tallinn, Estonia, from the 12th century, and its easternmost dedication to be found in Novgorod (dating from the 11th century), in

[98] Farmer, 2011. p 332.

Russia. The occurrence of churches dedicated to Norway's patron saint in the Nordic countries, on the British Isles and in the Continent indicates that the Church in Norway had connections and contacts far beyond its direct limits.[99]

The coastal areas of Germany, as mentioned above, are directly influenced by a typical Norwegian celebration, and the presence of southern German liturgical material – which probably migrated to the North via Denmark, into Norway - can be traced in the manuscripts of breviaries which will be studied, and has also been demonstrated by earlier researches[100]. Out of the Scandinavian area, the region that presents more dedications to Norway's patron saint is the British Isles, exactly the same area whose parallels were more prolifically found in the fragmented breviaries studied here.

The spread of a typical Norwegian liturgy, the celebration of St. Olav in different Christian centres and the presence of different Christian centres in the liturgical fragments demonstrate the numerous exchanges and contacts between the Church in Norway and the Church in other areas.

[99] THUE, Stein (Ed.). *On the Pilgrim Way to Trondheim*. Trondheim: Tapir Academic Press, 1988. p. 48.
[100]BOWER, Calvin M. *Sequences of German Origin in the Repertories of Nidaros*. In: KRUCKENBERG, Lori and HAUG, Andreas (ed.). *The Sequences of Nidaros*. Trondheim: Tapir, 2006. pp. 119-134.

PART III
DIVINE OFFICE: ANALYSIS OF THE TEXT OF THE FRAGMENTS

Compared to other liturgical manuscripts, the Office book, or the breviary, is far more complex in its origins and remained complex in its composition throughout the centuries. According to Baudot[101], followed by Beauduin[102], two authorities in the study of rituals and the breviary, this liturgical book was formed by the composite net of influences of clergy, people, religious houses, cathedral chapters and all levels of church hierarchy, each of these elements influencing and contributing a little or a lot to the diversity of the cursus seen in the medieval breviary[103].

While starting this analysis, one cannot ignore some very practical aspects concerning the dismantlement and reuse of the breviaries kept in the Riksarkivet, which mean the mutilation of their material, size and format from the 16th century, following the new political and religious order of Norway, towards Protestantism. The material for the liturgical books was parchment per excellence, and even in the 15th century, when paper was already largely used for other purposes, parchment remained the material to be illuminated in the old fashion style, especially for liturgical purposes.

The cruel fate of the books and collections of medieval manuscripts in Norway was not an exclusive creation of the Protestants of the 16th century onwards; in the Middle Ages, it was also common to "recycle" such material given its expensive price, for not all what was written down was made to be kept or to endure. Great part of the books are lost forever; consumed by time, fire, often deliberately destroyed, thrown away or reused for purposes such as bags for tobacco and gunpowder, fillings for altar fronts, insulation of walls and many other uses that were deemed convenient for a strong and flexible material like parchment[104], but, that ultimately, in most cases, led to their destruction. The few remaining codices clearly demonstrate that many interesting

[101] *Passin*, BAUDOT. Jules. *The Breviary, its History and Contents*. London: London and Edinburgh Sands & Co, 1929.
[102] BEAUDUIN, Lambert. *Liturgy: The Life of the Church*. Chicago: St. Augustine Press, 2002. p. 47
[103] *Apud.* BAUDOT, Jules. *The Roman Breviary*. London: Catholic Truth Society, 1909. p. 2
[104] CHARTIER, Roger. *Inscrever e Apagar. Cultura Escrita e Literatura*. São Paulo: UNESP, 2007. pp. 9-10.

books have vanished. Still, the past offers us some consolation by means of the "laudable" principle of reuse: pages of many manuscripts were used in the bindings of books in modern times. Thus, thousands of fragments of medieval manuscripts were saved and now form the pieces of a huge puzzle that is still incomplete, which may be used to rebuild the "ghost books" of the medieval shelves.

To reinforce this point, in the case of the breviaries, it is something altogether a bit more complicated. It is well known that since their appearance in the 11th century, breviaries were widely published and circulated in almost every level of the society, given their easy and handy format. The private breviaries, conversely, were always small and generally shorter - also in their contents - than those made for religious houses, then more complete, elaborated and normally much bigger. [105] This larger size made them perfect binding material for larger books. Using small breviaries would be too unpractical for this purpose of the modern era, and, besides, they were often privately owned and not collective property. On the other hand, the breviaries studied on this thesis were not of private origin, and their fate is related to their communal ownership, and henceforth, mutilation. Briefly, the fragmented materials are remains of ecclesiastical property and are able to tell us about the liturgy followed and authorized by the church, although with many missing parts of sometimes fundamental importance for discerning their origin, usage and cursus.

III. 1 - ANALYSIS OF THE SOURCES

Studies of the Latin manuscript material from the Middle Ages were largely explored in Norway by Lilli Gjerløw, in her lifelong research and publications over the subject; she brilliantly traces the layers of influence in the composition of *Ordo Nidrosiensis* (henceforth ON) and other liturgical books. Gjerløw demonstrates that the origin of the ON can be placed sometime between c. 1205 and 1224, although none of the surviving manuscripts can be dated before the last third of the 13th century. What allows the understanding that the influences on the formation of the liturgy showed in some manuscripts analysed here, in a sense, arrived independently of the ON's composition and formation, since a large part of them dates from the beginning of the

[105] HAMEL, Christopher de. *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts*. London: Phaidon, 2010. pp. 200-202.

12th century and not necessarily display some affinities with ON, but much in common with other English and European liturgical sources.

This diversity of sources can tell much about the history of the liturgy. The limits and multiple relationships of the Church in Norway, especially underlined in the first part of this thesis, are reflected on the manuscripts of the Divine Office and reflect the traditions followed by this Church. The Temporale is part of a more stable layer of the liturgy, normally not influenced by a single institution nor area, while the Sanctorale mirrors much more of local traditions and direct influences. The enormous army of saints of the church can be roughly grouped in three main categories: (1) saints from the Bible: prophets, apostles, disciples of Christ, etc; (2) common saints of the universal church: doctors, confessors, martyrs, virgins, founders, holy helpers of all kinds, common to most rites and Christian traditions; (3) local saints, which can be a wide range of sub categories, from legendary figures to monks, priests and kings. This third group is especially important when it comes to the analysis of the origins of some liturgical manuscripts, since their presence can attest the provenance of the source.

However, as all sources used in this thesis are fragmentary, it is difficult to work in a larger perspective using one single example; therefore, in this study, 51 fragments of breviaries, dating from the 12th to the 15th century, were analyzed. The majority is from the 12th century, twenty-five altogether; thirteen from the 13th century; seven from the 14th century; and six from the 15th century. These are almost all the breviaries kept by the Riksarkivet in Oslo, with the exception of BR18, which is definitively not a breviary but a locally produced lectionary with the legend of St. Hallvard, Oslo Patron Saint; and BR04, studied by Gjerløw, whose notes are still kept in the archive, while fragment itself is housed in Bergen University Library.

Despite the fact that one could expect this study to undertake a more detailed scrutiny of each breviary in particular, it is virtually impossible to accomplish such detailed examination of the sources for the purposes of a thesis of this dimension. Also, it was not focused in palaeographical revision, which would consume much more pages, but on the text, *i.e.* on the ritual of the breviaries and what it can say about the liturgy, its origin and development in the Church in Norway. One must keep in mind that those fragments were once part of the liturgical books used quotidian by communities and offer a glimpse, and only a glimpse, of the practices of such communities and their connections in a larger European context.

In this study, the sources are going to be chronologically divided. The periodization given by Gjerløw will be followed for most of the fragments, but not for all of them. In the table below, the number of fragments are presented according to the periodization employed in this thesis.

Table 08 – Chronological list of the MS.

Centuries	Number of Breviaries
12th century	25
13th century	12
14th century	8
15th century	6
Total	51

As there are no marked lines among a generally stable liturgy, local costumes and daily adaptations of the ritual, a basic distinction is proposed for this analysis, when possible, among the fragments. They were separated in three basic groups according to the *cursus* they have: (1) monastic or (2) secular origin, and, in cases where it was not possible to identify the origin, (3) *non classified.*

III. 2 - FRAGMENTS OF THE MONASTIC *CURSUS*

In this par of the thesis, the text of the monastic breviaries is going to be studied. Of all the fifty-one breviaries analysed, only sixteen could be discerned as belonging to the monastic cursus. When compared to the large number of the monastic houses established in Norway in the time-frame of this study, the diminutive number of breviaries is almost shocking. Ommundsen[106] estimates 10.000 to 12.000 liturgical books in the churches, chapters, bishoprics and monasteries of Norway around the year 1300; she also argues that this number probably remained more or less unaltered until the reformation in the 16th century: from this, it can be seen the large amount of Latin books used in the medieval church. There is a table below comparing the expressive numbers of monastic houses founded and the slender numbers of breviaries which could be identified as bearing a text of monastic *cursus,* and, in addition, it shows the total number of breviaries used as the corpus of this thesis, divided by century. It is not

[106] OMMUNDSEN, Åslaug. *Books, Scribes and Sequences in Medieval Norway, Volume 1.* Bergen: PhD Dissertation - University of Bergen, 2007. pp.76-77.

possible to estimate correctly the number of books of the Divine Office specifically concerning the Norwegian monastic houses, but considering the numbers presented above, one might be sure that, unfortunately, the remnants of breviaries left in Riksarkivet represent a very small fraction of disappeared ones.

Table 09 – Breviaries of monastic *cursus and monastic houses.*

Period	Total number of BR.	BR of monastic *cursus*	Number of monastic foundations
12th Century	26	6	15
13th Century	11	6	12
14th Century	8	1	2
15th Century	6	3	1
TOTAL	**51**	**16**	**30**

It is important to remember - as mentioned before, in part I of this thesis - that the religious houses in Norway that produced and/or used these breviaries had extensive connections with their Europeans counterparts[107]. For this reason, it has been possible to identify the *cursus* of some of the fragments and consequently link the *cursus* to some of the congregations that probably used them. Bibliography, editions of sources and online databases were of great help to establish a relationship with probable provenance of the text of the monastic fragments. Provenance is not solely understood here as the place where the codex was physically composed. The church, religious house, diocese, archdiocese, order or congregation that provided the liturgical *cursus* reflected in the manuscript is taken in account when it comes to determining the provenance of the breviaries. However, for the purpose of this study, the origin of the text of the Divine Office is what is really relevant, since the target of this thesis is not the analysis of the codex nor of the palaeographic features, but the text they bear within. For instance, a text of Norman provenance can be written on a manuscript where the scribal hand is clearly Norwegian but, still, does not make Norway the place of the text's provenance, but instead, Normandy. When it comes to indication of origin, the presence of local saints, or a specific chant, prayer or composition are also of great value: those factors can be, in the best case, a sturdy suggestion of the local or regional derivation of the Office. The classification by *cursus*, given to some of the breviaries by Gjerløw, was also helpful to indicate a probable provenance for its text. For example, breviaries which belonged to Cistercians houses would most probably have a text of insular origin,

[107] Gjerløw, 1968. pp. 85-110.

because the connection between the Cistercians houses in England with their daughters in Norway is well-known.

There are six fragmented breviaries from the 12th, all of them of monastic origin, given their *cursi*; there are six from the 13th century; one from the 14th century; and three from the 15th century. Below, the reader will find the table containing their organization per century, and then, their number of classification, given by Gjerløw. The third column shows the contents of the Proper or Sanctorale, followed by the contents of the Temporale. The fifth column presents information concerning the probable provenance of the text and/or its parallels in other European sources while the last one presents the religious order which possibly used and/or owned the fragment.

Table 10 - Fragments of Monastic Breviaries

Period	BR's Number	Contents of the Sanctorale	Contents of the Temporal	Provenance / Parallels	Religious Order or location
12th Century	BR02	Common of the virgins / St. Sebastian / St. Mathias / St. Albini (Alban) / St. Gregorio Magno PP. / St. Benedict Abbot / St. Peter in Chains / Octave of St. Lawrence / St. Agapetus PP. / St. Magnus / St. Philibert / St. Timothy and St. Symphorosa / Exaltation of the Holy Cross / St. Euphemia / St. Lambert / St. Mathew / St. Luke / St. Marcio / St. Condedus / St. Crispin and Crispiam / Ss. Apostles Simon and Jude / St Martin / St. Cecilia/ Vigil of the purification BVM / Assumption BVM		England (*Sarum*?)	Nidaros
	BR16	St. Mathias / St. Sebastian / St. Gregorio / St. Bennedict Abbot / St. Peter in Chains/ Octave of St. Lawrence / Oct. Assumption BVM / Beheading of St. John the Baptist / Exaltation of the Holy Cross / St. Luke / Ss. Apostles Simon and Jude / St. Martin / St. Cecilia / St. Alban / St. Agapetus / St. Ronan / St. Nicomedes / St. Lambert / Euphemia / St. Condedus / Purification of the BVM		Anglo-Norman-Saxon	Benedictine

	BR30		Sunday in the Octave of Epiphany / Sunday in Albis	Normandy (Fleury – William of Volpiano)	Nidaros
	BR29	Holy Innocents	Vigil Before Christmas	Normandy (Fleury – William of Volpiano)	Nidaros
	BR36	St. John Evangelist	Christmas	England (*Sarum*)	
	BR41	Common of the Apostles / Common of the Evangelists / Common of many martyrs	Sunday III/IV(?) after Pentecost	England (York) / Denmark (Lund)?	
13th Century	BR11		Sunday XXI and XXII after Trinity	Germany / France (Norwegian hand)	Cistercian
	BR49		Sunday in the Octave of the Epiphany	Norway c. 1250 (ON)	
	BR42	St. Thomas Ap. / St. John Evangelist / St. Silvestre pp.		Common text	
	BR22		Sunday I of Advent / Ferie II, III, IV first week of Advent / Dom II of Advent / Feria II second week of Advent.	France / England	Augustinian
	BR35	St. Gregorio pp. / St. Cuthbert		England (Durham / Worcester / Hereford)	
	BR50		Octave of the Epiphany	Norway (ON)	
14th Century	BR17	St. Nicholas / St. Andrew	Sunday III of Advent / Holy Saturday / Easter Vigil / Sunday I after Trinity / All Saints' day.	England (*Sarum*) / Norway (ON)/ Normandy (William of Volpiano)	
15th Century	BR06		Epiphany / Week days after epiphany / Palm Sunday / Parasceve / Holy Saturday / Sunday after Trinity / Sunday VIII after Trinity.	England (*Sarum* - York) / Norway	Augustinian
	BR28	St. Olav's Office / Translation of St. Olav / St. Stephen proto-martyr / St. Peter in Chains / Ss. Machabee / St. Stephen pp.	Christmas / Epiphany / Septuagesima Sunday / Conception BVM / Palm Sunday / Trinity Sunday	England (*Sarum*) / Norway (ON)	Augustinian

	BR47		Feria II (sexte, none and compline) after Quadragesima Sunday (?)	Sweden (*Breviarium Birgittium*)	Birgittines

In the table bellow, it is possible to see the following chronology of the religious foundations in Norway: from the beginning of Christianization period to the first half of the 12th century, the massive foundation of Benedictine and Cistercian houses. The first monasteries of the black monks were probably established in Norway from the British islands; in English accounts, monks with connections to Norway are mentioned from the first half of the 11th century. Amongst others, a monk named Sigurd - who was a bishop of Olav Haraldsson at the time - is especially mentioned. Apparently, he was a monk in England before going to Norway. Cnut the Great is said to have established a monastery near Trondheim. Norwegian and Icelandic sources from the end of the 11th century assert that a prominent Norwegian founded this monastery around 1100. Benedictine monasteries were founded in Bergen and Selja in the beginning of the 12th century, the nunneries of Bakke were founded not later than in the mid-12th century, and Nonneseter Abbey was founded before 1161, located in Bergen, and probably established in the 1140s.[108]

The Cistercians arrived in the same first half of the 12th century. The monastery of Hovedøya was created in 1147, and a monastery of the same order was established somewhat later in Trøndelag.

From the second half of the 12th century, other religious orders were represented, but the foundations are mainly from the Augustinians: St. Olav's Abbey in Stavanger (ca. 1180), followed by an abbey located on the island of Halsnøy, believed to be the first Augustinian foundation in Norway, founded by a Norwegian earl around 1160. Among other Augustinian houses in the same period, one can point out: the Helgeseter Priory and St. John's Priory, situated in the vicinity of Bergen. Premonstratensian and the Knights Hospitallers also arrived in Norway's mainland in the second half of the 12th century.

From the 13th century onwards, several other monasteries and convents were established in Norway; these were primarily the mendicants, Dominican and Franciscan. There was also one Premonstratensian Abbey in Dragsmark at that time, ca.

[108] WILSON, Thomas B. *History of the Church and State in Norway*. London: Archibald Constable & Co., 1903. pp. 117-140.

1234. Twelve new religious houses and convents were instituted in Norway during such period. Some new Benedictine and Cistercian houses were also founded in the 13th and 14th centuries, as well the Franciscans of Trondheim, ca. 1472.

Table 11 - Monastic foundations in the Norwegian mainland from the 12th to the 15th century

Arch/Episcopal See	Locality	Year	Order
12th century			
Nidaros	Nidarholm	ca. 1110	Benedictine
Nidaros	Bakke	ca.1150	Benedictine
Nidaros	Elgeseter	ca. 1180	Augustinian
Bergen	Munkeliv	ca. 1110	Benedictine
Bergen	Selje	ca. 1110	Benedictine
Bergen	Lyse	1146	Cistercian
Bergen	Nonneseter	ca. 1150	Benedictine
Bergen	Halsnoy	1164	Augustinian
Bergen	Jonskloster	bef. 1181	Augustinian
Oslo	Hovedoy	1147	Cistercian
Oslo	Gimsoy	ca. 1150	Benedictine
Oslo	Nonneseter	bef. 1184	Benedictine
Oslo	Varna	ca. 1180	Hospitallers
Oslo	Kastelle	ca. 1181	Augustinian
Oslo	St. Olav	ca. 1180	Premonstratensian
13th century			
Nidaros	Taura	1207	Cistercian
Nidaros	Rein	ca. 1226	Benedictine
Nidaros	Dominicans Trondheim	ca. 1234	Dominicans
Bergen	Dominicans Bergen	ca. 1245	Dominicans
Bergen	Franciscans Bergen	bef. 1263	Franciscans
Stavanger	Utstein	1263	Augustinian
Oslo	Dragsmark	ca. 1234	Premonstratensian
Oslo	Dominicans Oslo	ca. 1239	Dominicans
Oslo	Franciscans Tronsberg	ca. 1250	Franciscans
Oslo	Franciscans Konghelle	ca. 1270	Franciscans
Oslo	Franciscans Marstrand	ca. 1280	Franciscans
Oslo	Franciscans Oslo	ca. 1291	Franciscans
14th century			
Hamar	Ketilsfjördr	bef. 1341	Augustinian
Hamar	Siglufjördr	bef. 1341	Benedictine
15th century			
Nidaros	Franciscans Trondheim	bef. 1472	Franciscans

Source: NEDKVITNE, Arnved. *Lay Belief in Norse Society 1000-1350*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2009. pp. 341-342.

Some of these religious houses were small, and some existed for only short periods of time, while others had a wealthier existence, like Lyse Mariakloster, which possessed more than 50 farms, and Norway's best preserved medieval monastery, Utstein Augustinian Abbey, located on the island of Mosterøy, in Rogaland, which also owned extensive portions of lands.

The Church in Norway was indeed a church of meetings, and such meetings can be traced in analysed fragments of the monastic *cursus*, for their texts witness contacts with diverse parts of the Latin Church. Despite the lack of specific information, and at this stage of the research, it is not possible to tell the depth of connection between those houses and their mother ones in continental Europe. Beside the Benedictine monasteries, which enjoyed almost absolute independence from one another, (exception made to those daughter houses of Cluny, perhaps like Nidarholm monastery [109]), it is possible to comprehend, with some degree of assurance, that the mendicants and the monasteries of the order of Saint Augustine had contact with their pairs in other parts of Europe. Nevertheless, the logic and functionality of those orders in other regions allow one to understand that they would have no reason to behave differently in Norway[110]. However, we do have concrete knowledge about some orders, such as the Dominicans, with connections in the German costal cities[111], and the Cistercians, whose relations were even more evidently exposed in the exhaustive work of James France[112]. When comparing the two tables above, one concerning the breviaries of monastic *cursus* and the other presenting the list of the monasteries, the reader can evidently see how small number of breviaries have survived the centuries since the "*demonasterization*" of Norway. It is oddly small, especially when compared to the relatively large number of religious houses; besides, these breviaries do not show the same variety of origins, for only 3 orders – Augustinian, Benedictines and Cistercians - could be related to some specific fragments, according to Lilli Gjerløw. Nevertheless, they can still provide some information regarding the regular church: 53% of the texts of such monastic breviaries are clearly connected to England and the liturgical production of the island, being the mainstream influence from the *Sarum* rite and that of York.

[109] Gjerløw, 1968. p. 90.
[110] ROELVINK, Henrik. *Franciscans in Sweden: Medieval Remnants of Franciscan Activities*. Assen (NL): Van Gorcum, 1988.
[111] JAKOBSEN, Johnny Grandjean Gøgsig. *The Dominican Convents of Medieval Norway*, in: Dominican History Newsletter vol. 12. Roma: Institutum Historicum Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum, 2003. p. 217.
[112] FRANCE, James. *The Cistercians in Scandinavia*. Kalamazoo (USA): Cistercian Publications, 1992.

Almost all of the breviaries from the 12h century - the early period of the settlement of monasteries - analysed here, 6 altogether, present, to some degree, insular influence. Their text draw parallels with the editions of the breviaries, especially those of Salisbury and York. For instance, BR41 is particularly alluring concerning the presence of insular texts for the Office in Norway. It contains the texts for the common of the Apostles, the common of the Evangelist and the common of many martyrs. In general, the texts of BR41 are quite universal in insular and continental Office books: lessons from St. Gregorio Magno or St. Augustine, as well as famous hymns like *Aeterne rerum conditor*. In her personal notes, Lilli Gjerløw identified some responses of the Lauds of the common of Evangelists with the use of York (resp. 8: *Statura erat*, resp. 9 *Cum ambularent*). And albeit Gjerløw did not ascribe this breviary to any specific *cursus*, it is not improbable that this fragment was attached to a monastic foundation, given the disposition of its text. The number of responsories and lessons in the third nocturn (4 resp. + 4 lessons) was typical for the monastic *cursus* of a feast day. It is not possible, however, to relate it to any specific order, because of the commonness of its text, and further research should be carried out on the paleographic and codicologic specificities of this fragment.

Still concerning breviaries of the 12th century, BR 30 is the one that bear some significative difference in its text, when compared to the others. In her notes, Lilli Gjerløw points out that the script is probably from an Anglo-Norman hand, and, in her transcriptions, she also indicates the presence of William of Volpiano's[113] use, related to the Norman abbey of Fleury, mentioned above. Gjerløw identified part of the feast of the Holy Innocents and four responses as extant in Fleury: resp. 7 *sub Throno Dei*, resp. 11 *Ambulabunt mecum*, resp. 12 *Centum quadaginta quatuor milia*, as well as antiphons at the lauds of the Vigil of the Nativity, where she categorizes 5 out of 8 antiphons as being related to the Abbey of Fleury and to Volpiano's *cursus*.

Gjerløw also connects the texts of BR30 and BR29 in her analysis of both fragments. Response 8 of the BR30's Holy Innocents, *O quam gloriosum*, also appears in BR29 (and in BR25, but this will be discussed further on), while antiphon 1 appears

[113] Saint Willian of Volpiano (962-1031) was an abbot at St. Benignus of Dijon and reformed the liturgy of several monasteries in Burgundy. The famous Antiphonary tonary missal of St. Benigne (also called *Antiphonarium Codex Montpellier* or Tonary of Saint-Bénigne of Dijon) was supposed to be written in the last years of the 10th century, under the direction of the saint, and had an enormous influence, first in Burgundy, then in Normandy and parts of the Empire. Without being a Cluniac, William was closely connected with the order, invited by St. Odilo, abbot of Cluny. He was also responsible for the reform of some monastic houses in northern Italy. *Apud*: VAUCHEZ, Andre. *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages, Volume 1*. Cambridge: James Clarke, 2000. p. 1550.

in the lauds of the Christmas' Vigil, *Iudea et Ierusalem*. She indicates Normandy as the place of probable provenance of BR29 and sets a long list of parallels between its text and that of Fleury.

These two breviaries are the exception of the predominant English influence in the texts of the Divine Office for the period of the 12th century. However, despite its different text, the connection with Normandy, and specifically with the Benedictine Abbey of Fleury is possibly an indicative that indeed the monastic foundations of Norway were the result of insular efforts, for Fleury enjoyed a strong connection with England as early as the 10th century[114], and liturgical texts originated there could very well have passed to Norway via England.

Moving to the manuscripts of the 13th century, the text of BR11 is possibly the most interesting one. In the Cistercian trend and not exactly "in conformity" with the English parallelism, the text can very well be a non-English one. Lilli Gjerløw[115] argues that this was written by a Norwegian hand, and that this manuscript is the work of scribe from the early 13th century. Tracing parallels with the liturgy of York, Fécamp and Hyde[116], she also attests that this breviary was of secular *cursus*. Indeed, the parallels she drew are precise and could not be topic of further discussion if it was not for the publication "The Primitive Cistercian Breviary"[117], 2007, based on a manuscript dated from 1131, thus earlier than the secular sources pointed by Gjerløw, unique of its kind and more of German origin.

The publication of the primitive Cistercian breviary was concluded by the monk of Himmerod Abbey, Konrad Koch. The text of BR11 is, as far as I know, the only Norwegian breviary to witness so many close parallels with the text of the most primitive liturgical source of the Cistercian order.

It must be noticed that the Cistercians, especially the early ones, lived under the regime of the *Carta Caritatis*, the first "Constitution" of the order, written by St. Stephen Harding (d. 1134) and approved in 1119. In its second chapter, this document says: *"it seems appropriate to us, that all monasteries should have the same practice in chanting, and the same books for Mass and for the diurnal and nocturnal hours, as we have in the New Monastery (*Cîteaux*); that there may be no disagreement in our daily*

[114] Pfaff, 2009. pp. 80 and 200.
[115] GJERLØW, Lilli. *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1979. pp. 66-67.
[116] "*Of the few surviving English monastic breviaries, that of Hyde Abbey, c. 1300, is the best know.*" In: PFAFF, Richard W. *The Liturgy in Medieval England*. Cambridge: University Press, 2009. p. 220.
[117] WADDELL, Chrysogonus. *The Primitive Cistercian Breviary*. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg, 2007.

tasks, but that we may all live together in the bond of charity under the same rule, and in the practice of the same observances."[118]. In theory, this would mean that all the books of the Divine Office used by the Cistercian houses should be the same as those used at Cîteaux, and BR11 may be the only extant of such practice in Norway.

All the responses and lessons which Gjerløw could identify with other rites are to be found there in the same position in the primitive Cistercian breviary (Sundays XXI and XXII after Trinity Sunday); even those she does not mention in her comparison, such as the response "*Si enim hoc ergo mors michi est si autem non egero non effiguam manus vestras*" or "*Ego sum angelus ille qui offevo Deo orationes vestras*", are also disposed in the same liturgical day. Therefore, I suggest that this manuscript must be reclassified as a monastic one, that it probably belonged to a Cistercian monastic house, and its origin would be more related to the German liturgical world rather than to the Anglo-Norman one.

At this point, I would like to highlight BR22, because its text is a representative change from the 12th to the 13th century regarding the monastic manuscripts. The fragment of BR22 forms a bifolium of non-consecutive pages. Although it does not include the most interesting part of the text of every breviary, the proper of the saints, which allows an easier identification of the origin and influences under which it was produced, the remaining parts of the codex feature: the first Sunday of Advent, and the subsequent Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, as well as the second advent Sunday and the Monday after it. This is a rich liturgical period in every breviary, for, after lent and Easter, the advent and Christmas time were the most important events in the church year and marked its beginning. In the specific case of BR22, the liturgy for these days is especially interesting as it presents a text with parallels in areas of Europe which were not common to appear in Norway. Gjerløw mentions[119] England and France as surely represented, especially the dioceses of Rouen, Westminster, Hereford, Saint Denis and Ely, and areas such as Picardie and the unknown and rare example from London, *Missale Prioratus de Ciserburna* of the Augustinian Priory of Gisburne, or

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118 *"Et quia omnes monachos ipsorum ad nos venientes in claustro nostro recipimus, et ipsi similiter nostros in claustris suis, ideo opportunum. nobis videtur et hoc etiam volumus, ut mores et cantum, et omnes libros ad horas diurnas et nocturnas et ad missas necessarios secundum formam morum et librorum novi monasterii possideant, quatinus in actibus nostris nulla sit discordia, sed una caritate, una regula similibusque vivamus moribus."* In: HEINZER, Felix. *Kodifizierung und Vereinheitlichung liturgischer Traditionen.* In: HELLER, Karl.(ed) *Musik in Mecklenburg: Beiträge eines Kolloquiums zur Mecklenburgischen Musikgeschichte*. Hildesheim: Olms, 2000. pp. 89.

119 Gjerløw, 1979. pp. 68-69.

Guisbrough[120]. For instance, let's take Sunday I of Advent, responses 7 to 9 of the matins: R.7 *Salvatorem exspectamus;* R.8 *Audite verbum* and R.9 *Ecce virgo concipiet* are exactly the same as found in Saint-Denis' tradition (CAO 5, 755, etc)[121], and according to Gjerløw, they were followed by the English ramifications of Ely and Worcester. This BR, probably of Augustinian use, as stated by her[122], shows that the influence of the famous centres of liturgical production could be very well mixed and adapted to those that were not so common, out of their immediate locality. The existence of this breviary also clearly shows how far the transmission of such liturgical practices could reach, connecting the monastic houses of northern Christendom with other communities of Europe, especially those of French tradition, whose relation with the Augustinian order was already demonstrated by earlier scholar research.

Still looking at the manuscripts of the 13th century, one can see that BR49 and BR50 bear texts with strong parallelism with the text of the *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*. From this period onwards, the texts of the Divine Office start to reflect the expanding liturgical authority of the archiepiscopal see of Nidaros, even in the normally closed monastic communities. Attesting the growing power and prestige of the rite from Trondheim, in her personal notes, Gjerløw correlates the responses of the Octave of the Epiphany with those presented in her edition of the *Antiphonarium*.[123]

Furthermore, from the 13th century, BR35 is also an illustrative example regarding the presence of English liturgy in Norway. Lilli Gjerløw did not classify the *cursus* of this breviary as monastic nor secular; nevertheless, I am inclined to agree with John Toy[124]. In his book, he describes the monastic Office of St. Cuthbert (Vesper specifically), and the order he proposes for the responsories + versicle and lessons is the same as observed in BR35, for it seems likely that this fragment contains a monastic *cursus*. The breviary survived in two very small fragments of ca. 160mmx850mm, but despite the diminutive size, it can provide some information about the provenance of its text. The two small parts of the Offices it bears are dedicated to St. Gregorio Magno pp. (12/03) and St. Cuthbert (20/03). The commemoration of pope Gregorio was universal for the whole Latin Church, but the antiphon that survived in this breviary, *"Hodie vas electionis et habitaculum Spiritus Sancti, beatissimus Gregorius pontifex, ex hac luce*

[120] *Missale Prioratus de Ciserburna*, in: London, British Library, Add. 35285.
[121] Gjerløw, 1979. p. 69.
[122] Gjerløw, 1979. p. 83.
[123] Gjerløw, 1979, pp. 44-45/107-108.
[124] Toy, 2009. p. 97.

subtractus, ad aeternam regni caelestis sedem est translatus", is absolutely uncommon to many liturgical sources, but appears in: the Worcester Antiphoner (Worcester, Cathedral - Music Library, F. 160), Saint-Denis, (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 17296) and in the 12th century antiphoner from the monastery of St. Amand (Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, F-VAL 114).[125] The presence of the typical commemoration of Durham's patron saint, Cuthbert, in the 20th of March allows a more precise identification.

In spite of the great popularity of his cult in medieval England from the late 7th century (he was a monk and bishop of Lindisfarne, who lived c. 634-687)[126], the full Office is found only in ON[127]. Beside the correspondence in the liturgy of Nidaros, the specific response of his feast "*In sanctis crescens virtutibus almus vir Cuthbertus*", and the verse "*Corpore mente habitu factisque*" are also present in Worcester[128]. according to CANTUS, and in the liturgy of Durham and York, according to Toy[129]. The collect *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus qui in meritis Sancti Cuthberti […]* points for the rite of Hereford[130], quite commonly used not only in this city, but also in the neighbouring cathedral of Worcester. Still following Toy's description of the collect for the Office, parallels are found in Durham and York again, as well as in a sacramentary at the British Library[131], in the Missal of St. Augustine, from the early 11th century[132], in the Leofric Missal (whose presence will be discussed further on) and in the Missal of Robert de Jumièges, both[133]from the 10th and 11th centuries. According to Gjerløw, the Office of Cuthbert derives - directly or indirectly - from Durham[134], but the text of this Office - considering that it is identical to the one present in Ordo, which in its turn points to York - offers two possible explanations for this breviary: either it was locally

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[125] According to the largest databases available for antiphons, *CANTUS*, of the University of Waterloo and *Cantus Planus* of the University of Regensburg.
[126] FARMER, David. *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. p . 108.
[127] Toy, 2009. *Idem*
[128] Worcester, Cathedral - Music Library, F.160 (olim 1247) (with hymnal).
[129] Toy, 2009. p. 97-99.
[130] FRERE, Walter H. and Brown, LANGTON E. G. *The Hereford Breviary*, volume III. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1915. p. 14.
[131] *MS British Library Cotton Vitellius A. xviii*. It is a sacramentary (or missal), generally associated - in modern times - with Giso, bishop of Wells from 1061 to 1088. It includes a benedictional and some pontifical texts. A note at the front of the volume suggests that this is of a monastic church dedicated to Saint Andrew Apostle. Dating point to several hands of the late eleventh century. In: http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/cotton/mss/vit1.htm. Accessed in 13/10/2012.
[132] RULE, Martin. *Missal of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1896. pp. xi-xv.
[133] WILSON, H. A. *The missal of Robert of Jumièges*. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1896. pp. xxiv-xxv, lxi.
[134] Gjerløw, 1979. pp. 165-166.

produced, reproducing the text of the ON, what only a more accurate palaeographical study could prove; or it is a manuscript produced somewhere in the insular world, possibly in the area of Durham/York or under its influence.

BR17 is the only representative monastic fragment of the 14th century, and it illustrates the strong English presence in the text of the Divine Office and also in the materiality of the manuscript. In her notes in Riksarkivet, Gjerløw says that this breviary is decorated and musically notated in the *Sarum* style. She does not specify if it is secular or not, but the presence of the Memorial of the BVM in the Compline points to the monastic *cursus*. English elements are present in the disposition of the text and, as already mentioned, even on its parchment decoration, according to Gjerløw. The ritual of *Sarum* can also be seen in parts such as the collects "*Vide Domine infirmitatem nostrum*" and "*Omnium sanctorum tuorum quaesumus Domine"*, currently in *Sarum*, in the matins of all saint's Day[135], or the in the matins of *Sabato Sancto*[136], also from Salisbury and repeated in this fragment. Common continental liturgical material, such as the hymn *Lucis creator optime lucem dierum* (Vespers in Sunday III after Trinity*)* or the antiphon *Spiritus sanctus in te descendet Maria* (Sunday I of Advent) are current. Gjerløw presents the text of breviary (in the case of Holy Saturday, specifically) as an alternative to the ritual used in the *Ordo*, which illustrates that, in the 14th century, rites of England (*Sarum*) were still present and used in Norway, even after the firm establishment of the use of Nidaros.

In the period of the 14th century, no other breviary, but BR17, could be properly identified as being of monastic origin or having monastic *cursus*; unfortunately, some parts of the manuscripts are too much damaged and/or fragmented to be classified like this; further on, they will be discussed. Of the few MSS of the 15th century (six altogether), three are monastic, so half of them; according to Gjerløw's notes, BR47 belonged to the Birgittine order, of Swedish origin; the other two (BR06 and BR28) belonging to the Augustinian houses. BR06 bears part of the Temporale, with a ritual that is clear English on its contents (rites from *Sarum* and York are to be identified easily). In Gjerløw's opinion, according to her notes, this was probably written in Norway, given some disparities between the traditional use *Sarum* and York demonstrated in the 15th century breviaries and the contents of our manuscript. She

[135] PROCTOR, Francis and WORDSWORTH, Christopher (eds.). *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum, Fasciculus II.* Cambridge, 1882. p. 93.
[136] Gjerløw, 1968. p. 232n.

wrote in her notes about these fragments: "this could be a breviary from a Norwegian Augustinian monastery (or English, who took over Sarum *usus* late)". I tend to agree with her on the monastic classification, given features as the number of lessons in the matins of the octave of the epiphany and the extensive reading of the gospel. Regarding the fact that this breviary is in fact a Norwegian production, I rely on her expertise. Indeed, the text of the breviary shows some English presence, especially of the *Sarum* use, in the Palm Sunday responsories 4 to 6, and the York use in the lections of the Sunday VIII after Trinity. Other parts of the texts are rather common continental material, as for example the ritual of the Parasceve. Henceforth, BR6 can be said to be the result of different liturgical traditions, appropriating diverse texts and influences of insular and continental origin, mixing both in a new arrangement of local liturgy.

BR28 contains 19 fragments of a breviary (recto and verso), only 3 leaves of the breviary are whole, and it is deeply influenced by the rite of *Sarum*. The fragment is happily a bit more extensive than the others, and it features the liturgies of Temporale and Sanctorale: St. Stephen proto-martyr, St. Peter in Chains, Sts. Machabee, St. Stephen PP., Christmas, Epiphany, Septuagesima Sunday, Conception BVM, Palm Sunday, Trinity Sunday and finally, as it would be standard in every breviary which was probably produced in Norway, St. Olav's Office and Translation. However, according to my palaeographical notations and to the personal observations of Gjerløw[137], this BR was not Norwegian *stricto sensu.* It most probably belonged to the Wellow Abbey in Grimsby Lincolnshire[138]. The first recorded mention of Grimsby Church appears in a letter to the King of Norway in 1114. Early Norwegian and Icelandic writers recorded that Grimsby was the emporium of commerce for all the northern nations as early as the times of the Saxons, and around 1110, the Abbey of Wellow was founded by Henry I for the Black Canons, and it was dedicated to St. Augustine and St. Olav.[139] The "Wellow Abbey and Norway" connection seems to be firmly established, not only by the studies of the palaeography of the manuscript lettering, but also by the liturgical components and bibliographical evidence of other historical sources. Therefore, this breviary becomes unique, in the sense that it is possibly the only example of St. Olav translation liturgy in a non Norwegian book.

[137] Not published in the National Archive of Norway, folder BR28.
[138] Grimsby, as the suffix "by" suggests, has its origins back in a settlement of Danish seafarers arriving in about 800 AD from across the North Sea.
[139] SHAW, George. *Old Grimsby*. London: William Andrews & Co, 1897. pp. 9, 35 and 45.

III. 3 - FRAGMENTS OF THE SECULAR *CURSUS*

The secular breviaries have some features of their own, as it was discussed previously in the second part of this thesis, and for those specific features, they should be distinguished from by their monastic brothers. Cathedral clergy - who were priests in the "world", in opposition to the cloistered monks and nuns - also used breviaries, but, because of the more secular nature of their activities, their breviaries were normally smaller and with less reading, chanting and prayers. Cathedral chapters also had the tendency to combine more Offices in order to save time, matins and lauds, or vespers and compline, than saying only one early morning or one evening office. The mendicant orders also adapted this kind of practices, especially when they were non conventuals.

The distinction between secular (or cathedral) and monastic Office was set by the German liturgiologist Anton Baumstark, founder of the school of comparative liturgy[140]. The table below shows the numbers concerning the fragmented breviaries which could be identified, either by Gjerløw or myself, as having secular text for the celebration of the Divine Office. A survey of the manuscripts allowed the following division:

Table 12 – Number of breviaries of secular *cursus*.

Period	Number of BR's of Secular *cursus*	Total number of BR.
12th Century	14	26
13th Century	3	11
14th Century	3	8
15th Century	3	6
TOTAL	**23**	**51**

The archbishopric of Nidaros had four suffragan sees in Norwegian mainland: Bergen, Oslo, Stavanger and Hamar. The breviaries of secular *cursus* were used, or at least intended to be used, by priests not serving religious houses, but cathedral chapters, rather than parochial churches, because, for centuries, the bishop's see was the centre of the liturgical daily activity. The list below shows the distribution of the manuscripts according to their periodization, mostly proposed by Lilli Gjerløw, and then, their number of classification. The following columns present the contents of the Proper or

[140] TAFT, Robert. *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West*. Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, Minessota, 1993. p. 32.

Sanctorale and of the Temporale. The fifth column presents information concerning the probable provenance of the text and/or its parallels in other European sources.

Table 13 - Fragments of secular breviaries

Period	BR	Contents of the Sanctorale	Contents of the Temporale	Parallels and/or Influences
12th century	BR08	St. Magnus / St. Timothy / St. Apollinaire / St. Bartholomew / St. Audoenus / St. Rufus / St. Augustine / Beheading of St. John Baptist.	Octave of Assumption BVM	England (*Sarum*)
	BR09	Office St. Nicholas - II and III Nocturne		England (*Sarum*) / Norway (ON)
	BR05	Collect for S. Nereus and Achileus (?)	Feria II and III After Palm Sunday	
	BR14	St. John evangelist / Holy Innocents		England (Hereford) / Normandy (Fleury)
	BR13		II Vesper for Dom. I after the octave of Epiphany to the II Vesper of the following Tuesday	England (Durham -Leofric Collectar)
	BR15		Feria II After Sunday I of Advent/ Feria V / Sunday IV of Advent.	Anglo-Norman (*Sarum* - Hereford - Rouen – Reims – Strasbourg - English hand)
	BR21	Common of the Apostles / Common of the Martyrs		Normandy (Volpiano)
	BR26		Octave of Christmas	England (Durham - Peterborough)
	BR37		Sunday in octave of Epiphany and Sundays I to V after Octave of Epiphany	Anglo-Norman (*Sarum* - Mont-Renaud)
	BR39		Sunday IV and V after Easter	Northern Germany (continental hand)
	BR23		Feria II, III, IV and V after Sunday I after Easter octave	France (Gallican)
	BR32	St. John Evangelist	Christmas Office	Anglo-Norman (Volpiano.)
	BR45		In Cena Domini	Norway (ON) / Anglo Norman (*Sarum* / Hereford / Fécamp)
	BR48		Second week after Easter / Sunday III after Easter.	Worcester (English musical notation) / Southern France / Germany / Italy
13th century	BR01	Common of the Apostles / Common of many virgins	Sunday I after Easter / Annunciation BVM	Norway (ON)
	BR27	Parts of the Office of St. Hippolytus and St. Eusebius		England (*Sarum*)

	BR33		Saturday before the last Sunday of Lent (Passion Sunday)	Norway (ON) / England (Leofric Collectar / Hyde)
14th century	BR03	Office of St. Olav / St. Peter in Chains		Norway (ON)
	BR19	St. Thomas of Canterbury (St. Thomas Becket)	Dedication of a Church	Norway (ON) / England (*Sarum*)
	BR51		Sunday XXIII and XIV after Pentecost / Dedication of a Church	Denmark (Lund?)
15th century	BR12	St. Knut/ St. Peter in Chains / St. Olav		Denmark (Lund) / Norway (Oslo Cathedral School)
	BR07	Vespers of St. Olav / Visitation of BVM		Sweden *(Breviarium Lincopensis*, 1483)
	BR20		Feria VI after Sunday I after Easter	Norway (ON)

The considerably larger number of breviaries attached to secular churches differs significantly from the monastic ones, especially those of the 13th century. The breviaries from the 12th century bear, almost all of them, one common feature, the strong English influence on their texts. Of the text of fourteen manuscripts, nine are clearly connected to one or more English rites.

Among these manuscripts, BR15 is an interesting example of how regular the English weight was. Gjerløw provided the complete description of the source: it contains parts of the Advent liturgy, Feria II and V after the first Sunday, and the fourth Sunday of Advent season, and also parts of the biblical readings and the lessons from the *"De huius nobis lectionis verbis"*, Homily St. Gregorio Magno. The sequences of readings and responsories appear in more than 120 manuscripts - among them, numerous ones from the rites of *Sarum*, Hereford, Worcester, and others of English redaction[141], of strict and explicit Anglo-Norman origin.

Nevertheless, BR48 is a curious example of English influence that not necessarily came from England, although it is written in a very fine Carolingian script. It was classified by Gjerløw possibly as been from the 13th century, but it is of my understanding that its characteristics point more to the early 12th century (or even 11th), given its palaeographic and codicologic features: The text is written in one single column, with a regular rounded script, in the well known Carolingian style. According

[141] Gjerløw, 1979, p. 63.

to the scholar, Giulio Batelli[142], it is possible to identify the main features of the Carolingian Minuscule after the 12th century through some of the marks found in BR48; for instance, the presence of ę instead of the less frequent æ, the diminutive space between the letters of the same word, and also the almost non visible space between the words themselves and, in some words, the appearance of dots or special marks over *i* to differentiate it from *u*. Besides, BR48 has the regular roundness, few characteristics ligatures, and regular hierarchization of lettering, typical features of the Carolingian script. Another evidence for not placing BR48 within those manuscripts of the early 13th century, based on its palaeographic study, is the musical notation, in the form of neumes in *campo aperto* (without staff-lines), largely used before the introduction of the system of Guido D'Arezzo (992-1050)[143].

Part of the text of BR48 points to one place in England, as there is a compendium of liturgical material, including an antiphonary, from Worcester Cathedral, England, dated from ca. 1230[144]. These manuscripts from Worcester, with fourteenth-century additions, could not obviously have influenced our much earlier breviary; hence, where could this liturgical setting observed in BR48 have come from? According to CANTUS database, the majority of the antiphons and responsories of BR48 appeared in England only in three manuscripts from the 12th and 13th centuries[145]; however, they are quite common in MSs of the 10th and 11th centuries, from southern French and Germanic areas, such as St. Gallen. One specific antiphon - *Magna et mirabilia opera tua domine deus omnipotens* – only appears in Italian[146] manuscripts from the 10th century and in a Spanish[147] one from the 9th century, to reappear again in 13th and 14th centuries' ones, in England. Considering all exposed above, I can conclude that BR48 is a unique example among the analysed breviaries. It witnesses that the Church in Norway did have more extensive contacts than the traditionally studied Anglo-Norman connection and could receive liturgical material from southern Christendom, and that

[142] BATTELLI, Giulio. *Lezioni di Paleografia*. Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 2007.pp. 180-184.
[143] BISCHOFF, Bernhard. *Latin Paleography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. pp. 173-176.
[144] BISHOP, Elizabeth. *An Old Worcester Book*, in: *Downside Review* 25. Radstock (UK): Monks of Downside Abbey, 1907. p. 174.
[145] Aberystwyth, Llyfryell Genedlaethol Cymru (National Library of Wales), 20541 E; Cambridge, University Library, Mm.ii.9 and Worcester, Cathedral - Music Library, F.160 (olim 1247).
[146] I-Far. Florence, Arcivescovado: Biblioteca. I-MZ 15/79. Monza, Basilica di S. Giovanni Battista: Biblioteca Capitolare e Tesoro. I-Rv C.5. Roma: Biblioteca Vallicelliana.
[147] E-Tc 44.2. Toledo, Cathedral: Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares.

those contacts not necessarily always happened via England or Normandy, but that other ways did possibly exist.

Some other exceptions to the traditional insular trend are those secular breviaries linked to William of Volpiano's *cursus*, BR21 and BR32. In BR21, Gjerlow identifies the largest part of the common of the Apostles with the liturgy of Fécamp (6 responsories), intertwined with the most common parts found in other English rites (*Sarum*, York and Hereford), especially in some antiphons and responsories of the second nocturns of the same ritual (*commune apostolorum*). She says it belonged to a secular church, influenced by Volpiano's *cursus*. [148] The first lesson of the first nocturne of the common of many martyrs is a sermon by Augustine: *Psalmus qui cantatur Domino*; in the German liturgical world, it is normally ascribed to the celebration of St. Bartholomew[149], but since the text of this breviary was demonstrated by Gjerløw as clearly connected to the English environment, the cathedral of Lincoln could be very well an indication of its origin. There, in Lincoln, one can find the so called *Homiliarium Pauli Diaconi*[150], from the 11th century. This homiliary was used in the area of Lincoln cathedral with many additions and modifications, and it is one of the few examples of this sermon applied to the *commune plurimorum martyrum*. All the other pieces of liturgy for the many martyrs are very much universal, except this small lection, which casts a light over the insular influence on this breviary; appropriations of Fécamp and Lincoln[151] uses are intertwined in the same text.

Another appealing breviary from the 12th century's list is BR23. It has two fragments, one whole leaf and another small part. The leaf contains the text Feria II, III, IV and V after the first Sunday after Easter octave, the so called Low Sunday. There is an intriguing discrepancy in the readings of this BR, which are taken from the Acts of the Apostles, while some of the responses are from the Revelation of St. John. This order of reading follows the traditional *cursus* of the Roman Office from the period of Charlemagne[152] to the 12th century. The Lessons taken from Scripture were distributed

[148] The great Norman monastery of *La Trinité* of Fécamp was home for a distinctive kind of liturgical rite, inspired by the reforms of William of Volpiano. *Cf.* Sheerin, 2007.
[149] *Cf.* St Gall, Klosterbibliothek, Cod. 432, Cod. 433 and St Gall Cod. 434.
[150] THOMSON, Rodney M. *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library*. Rorchester (USA): Boydell & Brewer, 1989. pp. 124-127.
[151] *"The liturgical use of Lincoln was adopted in the large homonymous diocese. Among the few traces of it which have survived are three leaves of a 15th century MS missal,* secundum usum Lincoln*, now in the Bodleiam Library (MS 9824)"*. In: "Lincoln, Use of", in: CROSS, F. L. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2005.
[152] Baudot, 1929. pp. 21-23

this way: during Advent, Isaiah; from Christmas to Sexagesima, the other three major prophets and the minor prophets; from Sexagesima to Holy Week, the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges; from Easter to Pentecost, the Acts of the Apostles, the Catholic Epistles and the Revelation; in summer, the books of Kings and Chronics; from the beginning of autumn to December, the sapiential books, Job, Esther, Judith, Esdras and Machabee. BR23 was surely influenced by the order of reading described above, whose origin lay in Rome[153], but it was largely applied in the territories of the Carolingian Empire and, afterwards, strongly preserved in some areas of Normandy. It also had some influence in the formation of Volpiano's *cursus*, and from there probably passing to the northern parts of Christendom, reaching Norway by the 12th century[154], and roughly forming, via Volpiano's use, a bridge between Norway and the traditional Gallican liturgy.

The 13th century breviaries of secular *cursus* roughly follow the same style as those from the 12th century, with the quasi-omnipresent English mark. The typical example is BR27, with its complete *Sarum* ritual of the feasts of St. Hyppolitus and Eusebius. One in particular calls our attention: BR33. It presents an innovative influence on its text, related to *Leofric Collectar,* which had not appeared yet. The presence of the *Leofric Collectar* is new in the source material of this thesis, even though this collectar was a very famous and influent source, not only for England, but for other liturgical texts in Norway, including the *Ordo*. In fact, the association between *Leofric Collectar* and the Norwegian liturgical tradition has been thoroughly studied especially concerning the Litanies of St. Olav (in this Collectar, the oldest known Office in honour to the holy Norwegian king appears)[155]. The *Leofric Collectar* is a manuscript which has its origin in Exeter; it was compiled for liturgical use in the third quarter of the 11th century. It was probably based on the Collectar of Stephen, bishop of Liège from 902 to 920[156], in use at the cathedral of that city until the 16th century; it is also related to other British liturgical and musical traditions, and has substantial agreement with Exeter, Worcester and, again, the ubiquitous Salisbury (*Sarum*) rite.

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[153] THOMASII, Joseph Maria. *Codices Sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores nimirùm libri III Sacramentorum Romana Ecclesiae* (...). Roma: Typographia Angeli Bernabó, 1680. pp. 96-97.
[154] Gjerløw, 1979, p. 65.
[155] IVERSEN, Gunilla. *Transforming a Viking into a Saint*, in: FASSLER, Margot E. and BLATZER, Rebecca A. (ed). *The Office in the Latin Middle Ages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 406
[156] DEWICK, E. S. and FRERE, W. H. (ed.). *The Leofric Collectar*. London: Henry Bradshow Society, 1921. p. xxv.

Also from the breviaries of the 13th century, BR01 is far the most appealing manuscript. This breviary is an extraordinarily Norwegian fragment, in both aspects, palaeographically and liturgically. It contains the same rubrics as the *Ordo Nidrosiensis* for the Sunday of the Easter octave and follows the texts of ON in all the other rituals. Gjerløw explains and connects this breviary and its script to the context of its broader production:

> "In the last quarter of the thirteenth century, on towards 1300, we meet with a really proficient scribe. He penned six manuscripts, two in Old Norse and four liturgical books (…) so we have named him the St. Olav scribe. […] The four liturgical books penned by the St. Olav scribe are a missal, a breviary and an antiphoner".[157]

BR01 is a good representative of the local liturgical expansion and, as mentioned before, of the growing normative authority of Nidaros.

The 14th century breviaries, while still keeping English traces, differ from the others because they clearly show that the rite of Nidaros is either on the same level of influence or even in a stronger position. The secular breviaries from this period are no more *purely* English, but reflect a deeper influence of the *Ordo Nidrosiensis* either in their texts or in the order of responses and antiphons they bear: The *Sarum* influence, for example, can still be seen, but in some manuscripts it is filtered by the organization of the ritual followed in Nidaros. In the case of BR03, the small fragments are totally related to the ritual of St. Olaf's Shrine. The one exception is BR51, whose text is not to be found in ON, but in Lund, according to the personal notes of Gjerløw.

Unfortunately, the manuscripts of the 14th century are so mutilated and damaged that not very much can be said about their *cursus* and texts. It is the same case with the breviaries from the 15th century, and I could only identify three of them as from secular *cursus*. These three breviaries present even less English influence and much stronger and more solid Scandinavian traces on their texts. Gjerløw declares that the text of BR20 is a reproduction of *Breviarium Nidrosiense,* and the same goes for BR12, related to *Breviarium Ecclesiæ Lundensis*: an interesting example of a Nordic breviary from the

[157] GJERLØW, Lili. *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae (Orðubók).* Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1968. pp.35-37

14th century that reflects the development of the church in Denmark[158] and its growing influence on its neighbours sees.[159]

Regarding the fragment of BR07, according to Gjerløw's personal notes, it is written in a characteristically Norwegian cursive hand. Gjerløw also refers to parallels to *Breviarium Lincopensis* in the Office for Visitation of BVM; however, CANTUS provides the antiphon "*Accedunt laudes virginis*", from the same Office, parallels in six different manuscripts, but all of them originated in the German speaking world, related to the secular *cursus* of the cathedral's Offices. Beside its parallels with the liturgy of Nidaros (*Rex Olave Gloriose*, hymn for vespers, for example), the Office of St. Olav also presents traces of exchange with Swedish texts in the response "*O quantus fidei fervor*". This response could be an interesting example of transfer of liturgical material from one king to another, in this case, from Eric of Sweden to Olav of Norway. The text is part of the *Vita et Miracula Sancti Henrici*[160], and in BR07 became responsory 3 of the vespers in *Natali St. Olavi*.[161]. Although BR07 was not classified by Gjerløw or any other scholar by its *cursus*, I tend to see it as the fragment of a secular breviary, for all the text evidence suggests well-built connections with the standard secular *cursus* in use in Linköping, Sweden[162]. Besides, the other manuscripts which have parallels mentioned in the German world refer to liturgies of secular *cursus*[163], and the number and order of responsories and lessons for the visitation of BVM also point in this direction.

[158] SCHMID, Toni. *Breviarium Lundense 1477* in: *Scandia tidskrift für historisk foskning*. Vol 2, Nr 2. Stockholm, 1929. p. 284.
[159] Lund diocese, formed in 1060, in what was then Danish territory, by separation from the Diocese of Roskilde, then both suffragans of the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen. Lund was established as an independent see in 1104, and apart from a brief period, from 1133 onwards, it continued to possess its archiepiscopal status.
[160] FANT, Erik Michael. Geijer, Erik Gustaf. Et allio. *Scriptores rerum Suecicarum medii aevi: Jussu Regis Augustissimi*, volume 2. Upsala: Palmblad, 1828. p. 333
[161] Saint's lives were readily available in every part of Christendom and, in general, were all based on the model proposed by the Italian Dominican Jacopo da Varazze in his *Legenda Aurea.*
[162] The printed version of the Breviary of Linköping was an enterprise of Bishop Hans Brask. He studied abroad, mainly in Germany (Rostock), where he studied theology, and afterwards in Rome, canon law and philosophy. In 1493, he arranged the print of the *Breviarium Lincopensis* in Nuremberg, even before being bishop, but just a member of the local chapter.
[163] Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, 406 (olim 3 J 7) (ca. 1100); Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 55 (ca. 1300); Zutphen, Stadsarchief en Stedelijke Bibliotheek, 6(ca. 1400).

III. 4 - FRAGMENTS OF BREVIARIES WITHOUT CLASSIFICATION

Closely connected to the examination of the other manuscripts, in the sense that the same criteria of analysis of the texts was used, the list of the breviaries below gives the reader an idea about those which, for some reasons, could not be classified as belonging to the two *cursus* studied above. The Divine Office was always made of readings and lessons from different origins: the Bible, the Church Fathers, saint's lives, homilies, etc., and most of the fragments included in this list of non-classified ones present only this kind of text: the lessons and readings, which makes it difficult to identify to which *cursus* they may have belonged, because both, monastic and secular offices, normally used the same and/or very similar texts. Other parts which could be helpful to classify them, such as antiphons and collects, or the length of some of the canonical hours, as Matins, are also not present.

The breviaries non-classified per cursus represent 23% of the total corpus of sources. Below, there is a table comparing the numbers of breviaries which could not be identified as bearing neither text of monastic nor cathedral *cursus* with the total number of breviaries used in this research, divided by century. As it could be observed in the lists of the monastic and secular BR, the 12th century also represents the majority of the fragments in this list.

Table 14 – Number of breviaries non-classified by its *cursus*.

Period	Number of non-classified BRs	Total number of BRs.
12th Century	6	26
13th Century	2	11
14th Century	4	8
15th Century	--	6
TOTAL →	**12**	**51**

The following table lists the breviaries where those specific parts mentioned above are missing, making it impossible at this point of the research to properly identify them as having a monastic or a secular text for the Office. This list grew thinner when identification of the origin of the text of some fragments was possible. Occasionally, liturgical influences traced in the text were supportive to relate a fragment to some cathedral or monastic *cursus.* The attempt to identify them based on their origin/provenance was doable in some cases, but not for all the breviaries in this part of the thesis. This method proved to be a rather poorly precise qualification for the

fragments below and, hence, the option for taking them separately from the others was made. The table displays the distribution of the manuscripts according to their periodization, mainly as it was proposed by Lilli Gjerløw, and then, to their number of classification, according to the number ascribed to the sources in Riksarkivet. The following columns feature the contents of the Proper or Sanctorale and of the Temporale. The fifth column presents information concerning the probable provenance of the text and/or its parallels in other European sources.

Table 14 - Fragments of Breviaries without classification

Period	BR's Number	Contents of the Proper	Contents of the Temporal	Parallels and/or influences
12th Century	BR10	Ss. Machabee		Anglo-Norman (Gregorian – Volpiano's cursus)
	BR24	Matins of St. Andrew	Septuagesima Sunday / Sexagesima Sunday	Norway (ON)
	BR38	Common of many confessors.		English (*Sarum*)
	BR44		Septuagesima Sunday	Normandy / Southern Germany
	BR46		Sunday III of Lent	Norway (ON?)
	BR53	St. Fabian pp./ St. Sebastian / St. Agnes		Norway (?)
13th Century	BR25	Holy Innocents (idem BR29)	Septuagesima Sunday / Sexagesima Sunday	Norway / Denmark / Normandy (Fleury) England (Peterborough)
	BR34	St. Olav / St. Faustinus (etc)		Norway
14th Century	BR43	St. John Evangelist	Feria and Saturday before Sunday II of Advent / Sunday II, III, IV of Advent / Christmas Vigil	Norway (ON) / Anglo-Norman (*Sarum* / Gelasian)
	BR54	Office of St. Margaret		Anglo-Saxon / German
	BR52	Matins of St. Fabian PP. and St. Sebastian		English (*Sarum*)
	BR40		Sunday V after Trinity / and Lection for the following week	Norway / Sermons of Bede & Biblical texts

Curiously enough, the breviaries of the 12th century in this list do not follow the same logic presented in those of secular and monastic *cursi*; while the English influence is a certain path on the monastic ones, and very often in the secular ones, the manuscripts in this list confirm few direct insular traces, with the one exception made maybe by BR38, whose origin is uncertain; it contains only two small fragments with the text of the absolutely universal lessons of Gregorio Magno and St. Bede, as well as small portions of the gospel of St. Luke for the common liturgy of many confessors. The only part of the text which allows any kind of recognition is a response, possibly number 8, "*justi in perpetuum vivent*", that appears in the exact same position (response 8) in the *Sarum* Breviary, connecting the text of this fragment to the much current English tradition.

The series of those fragments not directly connected to England (BR46, BR24, BR53 and BR44) confirm a strong parallel to the *Ordo Nidrosiensis*, because their texts point to a deep influence of the archiepiscopal see of Norway.

BR46 is probably an early example of this influence mentioned above. Its distinctive rustic rounded Carolingian minuscule makes it difficult to decide whether it influenced ON or was influenced by it, because it could very well have been written before the *Ordo*, given its palaeographical features. BR44, for instance, bears the same antiphons, in similar order as in ON for the Sunday in Septuagesima, but with some differences in the numeration (for example, Resp.8 in BR44 is Resp.7 in ON). Lilli Gjerløw connects it to the traditions of York and Lund, underlining, however that the order of the responses and antiphons presented in both the Ordo and BR44 is quite different than the one presented in insular rites.[164] I conjure up the possible influence of the Germanic world; however, regardless its English hand, these texts are so frequent that it is particularly difficult to ascribe it to any specific area of origin.

In BR24, one cannot find parallels in neither English nor Norman rites. It contains parts of the Septuagesima and Quinquagesima Sunday, ninth and seventh Sundays before Easter, and Feria IV after the last. In Septuagesima Sunday, subsequent to the lessons extracted from the book of Genesis, the responses are almost all the same as those found in the Breviary of Lund, whose influence in the Norwegian manuscripts can be felt in other fragments. According to Gjerløw, Lund was an important passageway to the introduction of continental material, especially that of Germanic

[164] Gjerløw, 1979, p.113

origin, into the Norwegian liturgy.[165] However, it is on the Quinquagesima Sunday that BR24 becomes really extraordinary. It contains all the canonical hours of the day, from matins to vespers, and it has "new" antiphons, as Nidaros and its models, showing the adoption of the new rite of Trondheim and its growing influence over the non-Norwegian ones. Gjerløw traced a parallel between Lund and Nidaros and found out that this breviary has substantial parts of Norwegian liturgy of St. Olav's see[166].

BR53 is a heavily mutilated fragment, whose loss is a pity for the palaeographic and liturgical studies. From this breviary, only two small stripes of parchment are left, bearing the ritual for the Office of St. Fabian pp. and St. Sebastian (20th of January) and St. Agnes (21st of January). These three saints were extremely popular and their commemorations were universal in the Latin Church; therefore, identification of BR53 with any specific rite or liturgical tradition is virtually impossible, since the texts used in this manuscript are also very common. In her personal notes, Gjerløw talked about the fragment, that it was written in a very rounded and slow hand, probably product of a Norwegian scribe; I would rather argue that the script is a late rustic Carolingian minuscule. The text is written in one column, with musical notation in the form of neumes, not in *campo aperto*, but using three staff-lines, with a not very regular quasi-rounded script, resembling the Carolingian style; it has a regular roundness and few ligatures, all typical features of this kind of script. Following the description of Batelli[167], it was possible to identify some features of a later Carolingian minuscule in BR53. Following the palaeographic features, it is possible to see an early 12th century extant in this fragment, maybe among the most ancient we have. If Gjerløw was correct on her appointments and it was indeed locally produced, this breviary is a very good example of early book production in Norway and of good penetration of Latin and liturgical culture. Unfortunately, given its small size and bad conditions of its remnants, nothing more can be said about its liturgy and/or *cursus*.

The fragment of BR10 is a good example of a non-English influenced text. It contains the text normally ascribed to the celebration of the passion of the seven Holy Maccabean Martyrs, from the homonymous book in the Old Testament. Beside the biblical text, the only other we have left to identify is the collect: *Intende quaesumus domine preces nostras et qui non operando iustitiam correptionem meremur afflicti in*

[165] LIETZMANN, Hans. *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Urexemplar*. Münster: Aschendorffschen Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1921. pp. 210-212
[166] Gjerløw, 1979, p. 70.
[167] Batelli, 2007. pp. 183-184.

tribulatione clamantes respiremus auditi, which is not to be found for the day of those saints, but as *orationes pro peccatis*, nº 26, in the Gregorian Sacramentary[168], from the time of Charlemagne, in the ninth century. Once again, the Gallican traditional liturgy appears in the fragments used for this thesis. As it was demonstrated before, with BR23, this could have reached Norway via Volpiano's *cursus* through the Norman monastery of La Trinité of Fécamp, for the contacts between the insular liturgical area and the Norman one have been quite often demonstrated in this thesis, through the many examples of manuscripts with mixed and interpolated influences.

Concerning the two 13th century non-classified manuscripts, it is necessary to indicate that both are not kept by Riksarkivet and I could not directly access them. Therefore, the information here is given from the analysis and transcriptions of Lilli Gjerløw, as well as the personal notes and correspondence concerning these two breviaries. According to her, BR25 and BR34 can be considered as Norwegian productions. BR25 was created ca. 1250-1275, and it has two surviving sheets. The parchment was used for the cover of a book, which let the outer leaves completely unreadable. However, it was possible for me to see, in the available copies, that the text could designate German origin, (via Denmark, maybe Lund again?) and also some English features. It contains part of the text of Psalm 119, "*Legem pone mihi domine viam justificationum tuarum*", which, according to CANTUS database, appears for the Sexagesima Sunday only in an antiphoner of secular *cursus*, in seventeen volumes, from ca. 1580, whose provenance lies in Augsburg, but it is currently kept in Denmark[169]. Lessons and readings can be called the *English part* of the breviary's text. These parts are related to *Sarum*'s rite; for instance, the Chapter of Septuagesima Sunday, "*Nescitis quod hi in stadio currunt"* and the antiphon for the gospel "*Simile est regunun celorum homini patrifamilias*" appear in the same position in The *Sarum* Missal[170]. However, other parts of the text indicate parallels to the *Breviarium Nidrosiensis* too, according to Gjerløw[171]. The mixture of diverse European tendencies is the typical mark of the breviary. Although it is extremely difficult to talk about the palaeographical features of this manuscript, for its copy is in a bad condition, its text bears an interesting combination of different trends of liturgy, whose roots are in a variety of traditions that

[168] Lietzmann, 1921. p.114
[169] København, Det kongelige Bibliotek Slotsholmen, Gl. Kgl. S. 3449, 8o I. cf. in: http://cantusdatabase.org/source/374112/dk-kk-3449-8o-i (accessed in 20/09/2012).
[170] LEGG, Wickham. *The Sarum Missal*. Oxford: Claredon Press, 1916. p. 45.
[171] Gjerløw, 1979. pp. 113-114, 118.

altogether meet in Norway. England, Germany (via Denmark) and Nidaros are attached in a creation of the text of this small fragment of a breviary attesting that the meetings were indeed constant and diverse in the medieval Church in Norway.

BR34 is housed at Trinity College, in Dublin. According to Gjerløw's notes, it is a fragment of two non-consecutive leaves with musical notation, and it is probably a late 13th century production. The contents, especially the illegible Office of St. Olav, could probably indicate a local production, but what makes it even more evident is the junction of the celebration of Ss. Felix, Simplicius, Faustinus and Beatrice, which are lumped together with St. Pantaleon on July 28th, in a simple commemoration, to release the important local celebration of St. Olav alone in the 29th day of the same month.

The manuscripts of the 13th century are sources for the mixed and intertwined liturgy of Norway with diverse European contexts. The 14th century breviaries keep the same path and do not fall totally back under the English mood.

BR54 is an extremely small proportioned manuscript. There are two fragments of 80mm x 5,1mm and 8mm x 4,8mm. The small proportion and the bad conditions of the parchment made it rather difficult to transcribe the text. The only surviving text comes from "*Passio sanctae Margaritae, Virginis et Martyris*"[172], as part of readings for the Office of Saint Margaret of Antioch (22nd of July), immensely popular in the later Middle Ages, one of the *quattuor virgines capitales* and a member of the group of the Fourteen Holy Helpers. According to Kirsten Wolf, Margaret was a very famous saint in Iceland, given the enormous amount of manuscripts containing her legend[173]; and her presence in a breviary in Norway would not be a surprise, given her universal popularity in Western and Eastern Christendom. The text of the *legenda*[174], used as lesson VII (?), "*Beata autem margareta aspiciens*"[175], received another incipit in BR54 - "*Sancta autem margareta*" - and was interpolated with what seems to be a part of St. Augustine's exposition of the book of psalms[176] - "*[disrump]e vincula mea, et confirma me in misericordia tua*", what offered an extra complication for its identification.

[172] MOMBRITIUS, Boninus. *Sanctuarium seu vitae sanctorum*. Paris: Fontemoing et Socios Editores, 1910. p.190-196.
[173] WOLF, Kirsten. *Margrétar saga II*. In: SIGURÐSSON, Gísli (Ed.). *Gripla XXI*. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar í Íslenksum Fræðum, 2010. pp. 61-104.
[174] ASSMANN, Bruno (ed.). *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*. Kassel: Georg H. Wigand, 1889. pp. 204-205.
[175] London, British Library: MS Harley 532.
[176] Psalm CXXXIII.

The very tiny piece of music which could allow a more precise definition of provenance offers some extra difficulties: the text is cut by the binding of the book where this parchment is still attached and the ink is blurred, making it impossible for me to read. But the neumes of the musical notation may be helpful: it is a square-neumes notational genre in four red lines, which, according to The Neume Notation Project[177], could be associated with manuscripts of German origin, especially when it is known that the devotion to the fourteen *Auxiliary Saints* began in Rhineland, Germany, around the late 12th century[178]. Besides, the text of the collect also appears as Office text in another breviary, originally from Germany, the *Liber horarum ordinis fratrum praedicatorum ad usum sororum augustinarum*[179] (second half of the 15th century). *"Beata autem margareta aspiciens"* is placed as the antiphon before the *Nunc Dimitis*; this antiphon, however, is classified by the author as a later addition to the original manuscript, and uncommon to the Dominican breviary[180]. Given all the information above, it is possible to see that the presence of St. Margaret was a regular one in Norway, as it was in all the Church, and also that the text for her Office reached Norway and was merged in this fragment from at least two different liturgical environments: the Anglo-Saxon version of Margaret's legend, popular in England even before the Norman conquest, and Germany, where it seems that this legend first originated[181] and it was largely used for the liturgy for a longer time than in more traditional English rites (*Sarum*, York, Hereford use different texts for the Office of St. Margaret).

BR43 also represents the non-English influence in the MSS of this century. In her personal notes, Gjerløw describes it a as late, beautifully written, 14th century manuscript, with German musical notation and a very professional gothic hand script, with some attention-grabbing coloured initials decorated with pen strokes. Its text, however, is not entirely German; in fact, it is much more of a mixture of *Sarum* and *Ordo Nidrosiensis*. In this fragment, there is an exceptionally enquiring piece of liturgy which may be almost a lost link with the continental origins of the breviary: *"Respice nos, [*omnipotens*] et misericors deus, et mentibus clementer humanis nascente Christo*

[177] http://www.scribeserver.com/medieval/ Accessed in: 10/11/2012.
[178] Cross, 2005. p. 137.
[179] HUOT, François. *Les manuscrits liturgiques du Canton de Genève*. Fribourg. Éditions Univertaires, 1990. pp. 313-314.
[180] Although the name of St. Margaret has been officially included in the Dominican liturgy in 1285. *Cf.* Pfaff, 2009. p 314.
[181] *Passin* CLAYTON, Mary and MAGENNIS, Hugh. *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

summae ueritatis lumen infunde"; it is the collect of the None, on the Lord's Nativity day. This collect appears in the *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*[182], the so called Old Gelasian Sacramentary (Liber I, III, *Item in Vigilia Domini mane prima*). It is the oldest liturgical book of the Roman Church (*Codex Vaticano Reginense Latino* 316), a manuscript from *circa* 7th-8th century which was quite popular in central Europe, especially in the German speaking world and in the Carolingian Empire, and this probably was the link to connect our BR43 with such old liturgical tradition. It is possible that such old collect passed to Norway either via Fécamp, as mentioned above, in the case of other breviaries, but now, not with the English filter of *Sarum*, or any other insular use, for the German presence can exclude this breviary from a tour in England before reaching Norway. The influence was possibly Denmark or even Sweden, since German liturgy can be much easily found there.[183]

The two fragments of BR40 are classified by Gjerløw as from the 15th century; however, its script could possibly be ascribed to a late 13th or early 14th century hand. When compared to other manuscripts of the same period, especially BR52, BR04 and BR 43, the attribution to a 14th century hand can become even more evident. According to the classification proposed by Derolez[184], the script may be classified as a northern textualis gothic script, especially because of its distinguished two compartment *a*, the lack of descenders of letters like *f* and high *s*, and some other palaeographical features. This allows me to think that a 15th century periodization would be too late. Its text is rather common, bringing readings for the fifth Sunday after Trinity's Sunday and the lections for the following week. The selection of texts cannot be ascribed to any particular rite or use, since it contains sermons of St. Bede and biblical texts from the first book of Samuel, the first book of the Kings and the Gospel of St. Luke, which regularly appear in this period of the liturgical year. The texts of the Bible (and also of the lessons) of this fragment present considerable variations to the standard text of the Vulgate; however, it is not possible to ascribe this variation to any particular *cursus* or rite, since the standardization of the *Vulgata Latina* was only achieved in the modern era.

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[182] Thomasii, 1680. p. 14.

[183] *Passin*. BRUNIUS, Jan. *Medieval Book Fragments in Sweden*. Stockholm: The Royal Academy of Letters, History and Antiquities, 2003.

[184] *"In England, France and the Low Countries the full development of Gothic script should probably be dated to the end of the twelfth century, whilst in Italy, the Iberian Peninsula, Germany, Central Europe and Scandinavia it should be placed somewhere in the thirteenth."* In: DEROLEZ, Albert. *The Paleography of Gothic Manuscript Books*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. p.72.

III. 5 – A GENERAL OVERVIEW

When the province of Nidaros was erected, in 1153, by the Cardinal Nicholas Brekespear, two major projects were undertaken by archbishop S. Øystein (1157-1161) as soon as he became the metropolitan of the see. One was the reform of the cathedral; the other was the formulation of *Ordo Nidrosiensis Ecclesiae*.

Trondheim was the centre of the ecclesiastical province of Nidaros, whose influence extended as far as Iceland, Greenland and the Western Isles of Scotland. Christ Church Cathedral, rebuilt during the time of Archbishop Øystein, was not only the centre of the cult of St. Olav but also a centre of political and economic influence. Trade with England was conducted by the archbishop himself, even to the exclusion of private merchants, under the terms of a privilege granted to Øystein by Henry II of England and renewed for the last time in 1241. This would be a convenient channel for the importation of English liturgical books, if one was required, and, in fact, English manuscripts are well represented among the Norwegian fragments. The Ordinary of Nidaros also demonstrates various English influences which are far from saying that Nidaros was slavishly dependent on England in liturgical matters.[185]

A comparison to other continental and English ordinals allows one to see the text of the *Ordo* as one of the most elaborated and complete books amongst its contemporaries. The layers of influences on the ON are wide and many and of English, French and German practice, being the English influence mainly, but not only, of the *Sarum* rite and the continental *Hadrianarum* matrix. As it has been said before, English influence is especially visible because of the number of English saints found in the Sanctorale and the large number of these insular saints found in the Norwegian liturgy[186]. There were two most important models for the religious celebrations in Nidaros: the liturgical use of *Sarum* and the so called *Gregorian Sacramentary*, in its modified form, as mentioned above, the *Hadrianarum*, either via Germanic direct influence, passing Denmark and Sweden or even passing Normandy through England. The formation of the ON demonstrates a moment of relative maturity in the liturgical development of Nidaros as an important Christian centre in Scandinavia, reflecting, therefore, an already existing and highly functional church system of celebration and

[185] FALCONER, Keith. *A Kyrie and three Gloria Tropes in a Norwegian Manuscript Fragment*. In: *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning*, 1985. p.96.
[186] *Passin*. Toy, 2009.

ecclesiastical administration. The church which saw Ordo coming to light in Norway was an institution formed by many religious houses, some well-established cathedrals, a growing parish net, secure and confident enough to support its own self-government on liturgical affairs.

The amount of books produced in Norway was variegated and done for diverse purposes, some in Latin, some in the vernacular, but local production of liturgical manuscripts did exist as early as the 12th century, as the manuscripts studied above demonstrated.[187] On the other hand, and despite its confidence and maturity, the Church in Norway, in its secular or regular forms, kept importing liturgical material from abroad along the time frame of this thesis. These two trends, the internal and external liturgical influxes, met and were rapidly mixed in Norway, formatting a liturgical background that could be called *hybrid*.

As it was said above, the Church in Norway was indeed a church of meetings, and such meetings can be traced in the analysed fragments. The primary source used in this thesis are the collection of breviaries kept in the Riksarkivet from the 12th to the 15th century; these are 51 fragmentary books of prayer used extensively for liturgical celebrations of the Divine Office and they bear marks showing the Christian community of Norway as indeed a deeply European interconnected Church.

It is also important to stress that there were no sharp borders fixed between local liturgy and universal traditions; the rules of everyday celebration were conditioned by customs, written or not, which sometimes could be expressed in the liturgical books. From the period of the Gregorian reform on, the regulation of the liturgy was a target of the papal administration, but large part of the specificities of every region was long kept out of the papal direct influence. While studying the liturgy of the Divine Office in particular I have always had to consider that the local variations in the Middle Ages tended to be the norm and not the exception. By their own nature, the texts of the Office constitute a complex net of diverse origins and provenance. All the fragments of breviaries totalize 51 and were divided in three groups, being 15 of them monastic, 24 secular and 12 non-classified:

[187] Ommundsen, 2007. p. 68.

Table 16 –Numbers of the breviaries according to their *cursi* and divided by century.

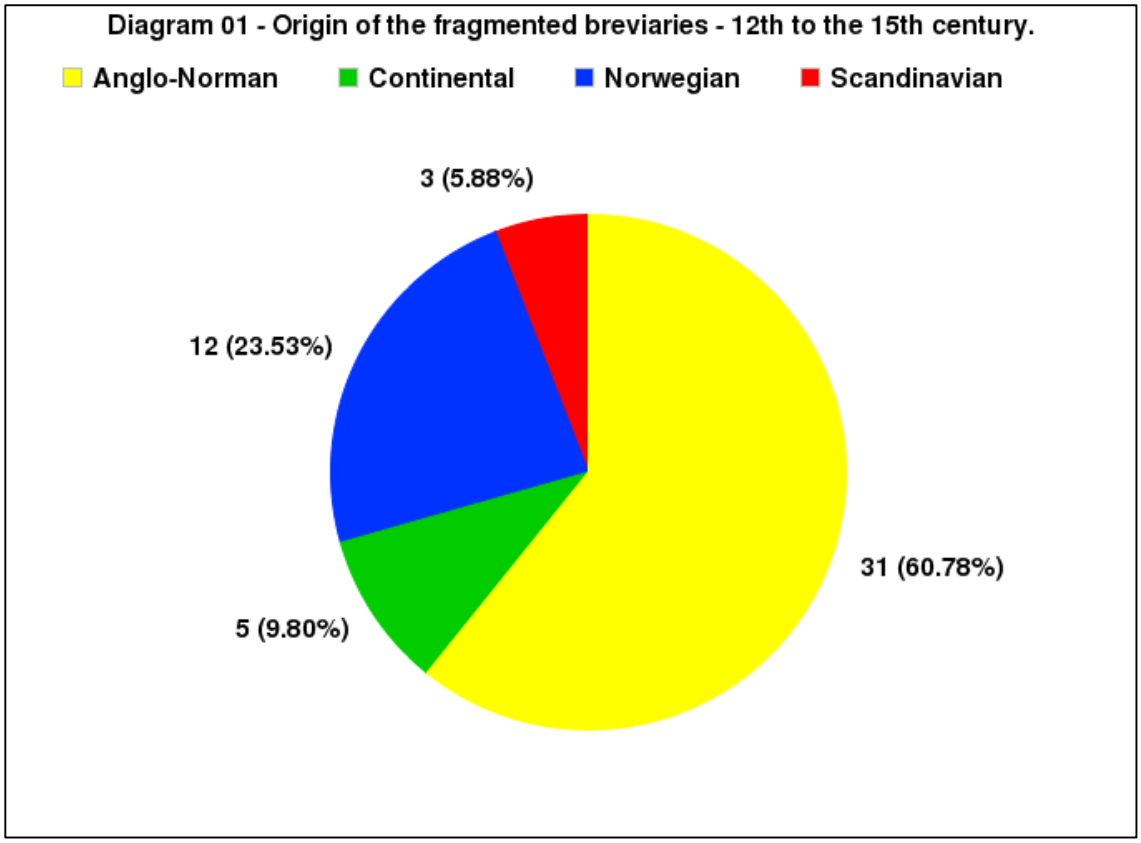
Period	Monastic *cursus*	Secular *cursus*	Non-classified *cursus*	Total number of BR.
12th century	6	14	6	26
13th century	6	3	2	11
14th century	1	3	4	8
15th century	3	3	--	6
Total	**16 (31%)**	**23 (49%)**	**12 (23%)**	**51**

If one thinks of the comparison between the number of monasteries and the number of chapters to attend the community of the faithful, those numbers above may seem very reasonable,[188] for secular churches outnumbered regular houses in most of the areas where Christianity spread. The numbers concerning the distribution of the manuscripts by century, on the other hand, may not be very elucidating, because we do not know the logic employed, if any logic was ever employed, for the re-use of the parchment in the modern era, and this direct inflects on the number of remnant manuscripts that have survived to this day.

Concerning the provenance of the 51 studied fragments, for the complete comprehension of the data below, it is important to understand that the classification of a given manuscript into a specific group according to its provenance does not indicate that the text of such manuscript is solely and only based on the place indicated. As it was stated before, especially in the tables concerning the classification by *cursus*, influences were often mixed and entangled within the same Office and, sometimes, inside the very same canonical hour, when, for instance, one antiphon was to be found in the Germanic world and the collect next to it, coming from a northern English diocese. Therefore, the classification here arranged, firstly in general and then by century, according to the geographical area, is based on the main occurrence of the liturgical tradition of this area in the text of the Office of the breviaries. The codicological and paleographical aspects are pointed out when it is necessary to highlight some especificity of the source or to explicit some information about a given group of sources, but the axis over what the diagrams below are built is the text of the Divine Office.

[188] Bagge, 2010. p. 297.

While classifying the corpus of source material according to the geographical area of their provenance, I have decided to group them in rather larger and general areas which often present parallels in the liturgy of the Divine Office of the breviaries' text: the ones grouped under the name of *Anglo-Norman* are related to two different regions, England and/or Normandy; *Continental* is ascribed to those texts whose origin are either universal or have arisen from central European areas; *Scandinavian* when the texts are related to the Nordic church liturgical books; and finally, *Norwegian*, when the fragments cam be discerned as locally produced and bear marks of the Norwegian liturgy.

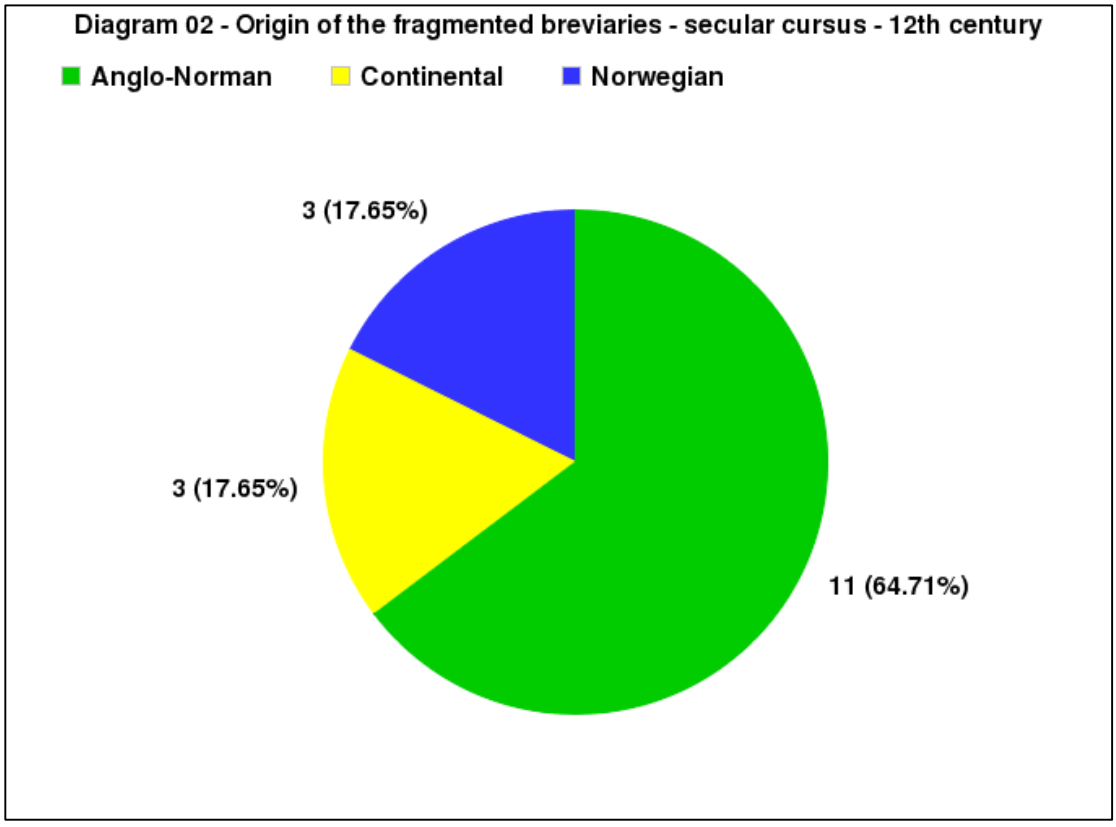


The diagram below explicates the numbers concerning all the sources, divided according to areas of provenance of their texts. Within the time frame of this thesis, two special areas can be identified as particularly important for the formation of the medieval liturgical tradition of the Divine Office in Norway: the Anglo-Norman world and the central European area. More than half of the breviaries can be ascribed an Anglo-Norman origin, 60% altogether. This means that these 31 breviaries have origin in the diverse liturgical uses of England and/or Normandy, such as *Sarum*, York, and others, and also in the areas of northern France, that, during the Middle Ages, were

closely connected to the Church in England. The presence of the Volpiano's *cursus* establishes that Normandy found its way to Norway, most probably via England.

The group of continental fragments embraces a variety of origin, like the notoriously recognizable liturgical traditions influenced by the Gregorian and/or the Gelasian Sacramentaries in a pretty large scope of sources, because these texts for the Divine Office were of common use in all Western Church. They singly represent 9.80% of the fragmented material. This diminutive number can be explained by the fact that such sources, of so common use, directly or indirectly appear in every liturgical material of the Latin Church. The numbers displayed here, of only 5 breviaries which were explicitly labelled as continental, demonstrate that, beside its indirect and very regular presence in many other sources, only 5 fragments could be ascribed as being straightly related to the text of these traditional Western sources for liturgy, the great Sacramentaries of the Middle Ages: Gregorian, *Hadrianarum*, Gelasian and others.

The group of manuscripts of Scandinavian origin presents the smallest number, only 3 (5.88%), and their origin is connected to Lund and to Sweden. Finally, there are the breviaries whose text points to Norway and the liturgy of Nidaros, attested in the *Antihponarium* or the ON, 12 altogether, or 23,53% of all the sources.



The observation of all the breviaries in conjunct clearly demonstrates what was already proposed by the bibliography of the historical and palaeographical researches concerning the Church in Norway. The strong links between the Norwegian and English Christian communities was sturdy, but, despite this perennial link, by no chance the only one.

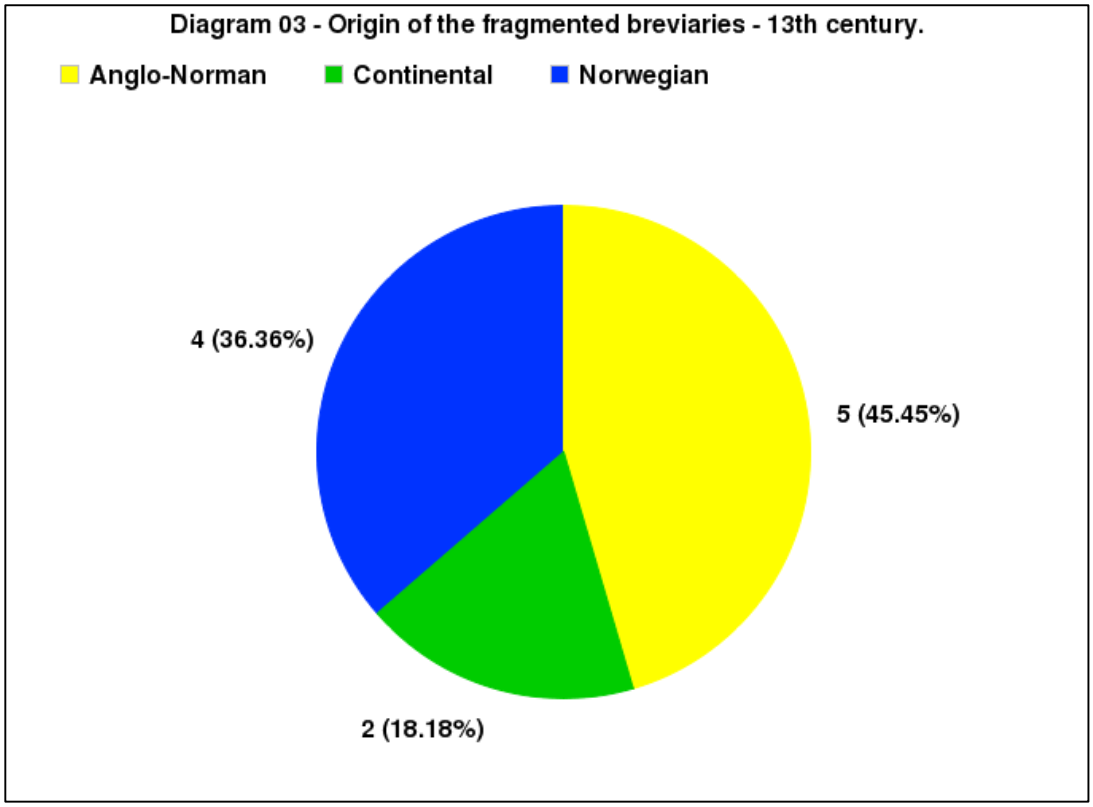
The numbers from the 12th century confirm what the analysis of the manuscripts had already evidenced, that some special areas can be identified as particularly important for the formation of the Office text: the Anglo-Norman world and the central European areas, *sic* continental. Anglo-Norman influence is far the most common; the presence of the traditions of the Church in England within the text of the Office in Norway is clear and well studied, and only confirmed by this analysis. The 12th century materials feature texts distinctly from *Sarum*, Hereford and York, Worcester and Durham, but the main trend comes from *Sarum*. Around 50% of the 11 manuscripts with Anglo-Norman influence bear the distinctive mark of the ritual of Salisbury. Hereford and Durham are present in 2, and Worcester and York in one each.

Still looking at the Anglo-Norman material, five fragments (25%) are paralleled to William of Volpiano's *cursus*. The other manuscripts, namely continental, indicate texts whose continental origins are connected to Germany and France, related to quite common and universal texts of the mentioned classical sources of the Gregorian and Gelasian Sacramentaries. The presence of Norwegian manuscripts, three altogether, is an interesting demonstration of an autonomy which starts to appear, although still influenced and mixed with foreign material; although the Norwegian breviaries can not be properly dated, it would not be unlikely that they (e.g. BR46, BR44, BR24) are from the contemporaneous period or the time immediately after the formation of the Ordo.

If one analyses the numbers and divides them according to the *cursus* of the breviaries, it is possible to say that, from the 12th century, all the monastic breviaries have Anglo-Norman influence. The secular ones are divided into very unequal groups: out of the 14 fragments of secular *cursus*, 11 (78,57%) have the same insular influence, while only 3 have the treats of the continental texts. The single balanced number of the breviaries is related to the non-classified fragments, because they are 50/50; three are Norwegian and three Anglo-Norman.

The 11 manuscripts of the 13th century witness how England and its continental partner in the formation of the Norwegian Office, Normandy, were still the principal

force of influence on the Office liturgy. In this group of English influx, *Sarum* is no more predominantly discernible in most fragments, as it was in the 12th century. Various other Anglo-Norman dioceses and uses can be traced: Hyde Abbey, Fleury and Worcester, among others. The diminution of the number concerning what we call *continental* material and the growth of Norwegian breviaries, especially when compared to those of the pervious century, are accentuated in the 13th century. The text for the Office of the two continental fragments is very common. However, despite its universally used text for the Office, one of the breviaries, BR11, bears the marks of a typical Norwegian hand, according to Lilli Gjerløw, and, therefore, beside its common



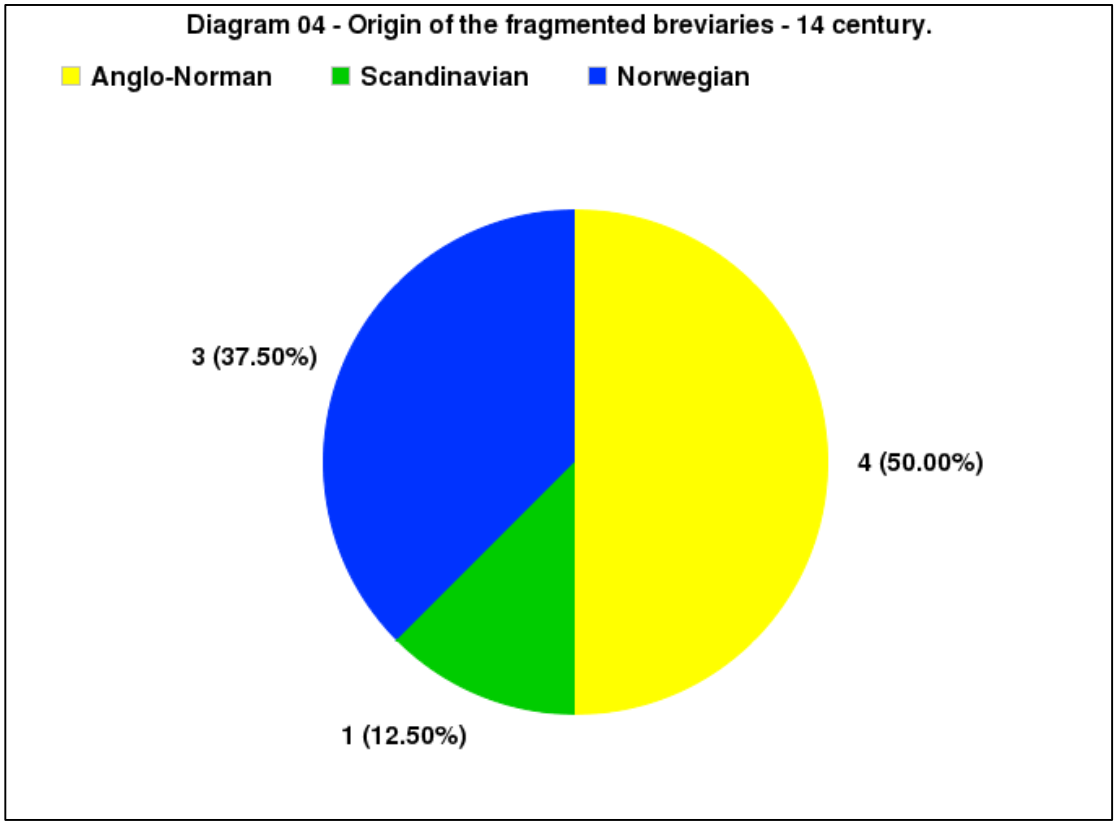
text, can be related to the other four Norwegian breviaries of the 13th century. The numbers related to Norwegian sources demonstrate the growth of the local production and scribe culture, as well as the growth of a deeper self-perception and maturity to produce its own liturgical material.

When analysing the numbers of the 13th century and dividing them according to the *cursus* of the breviaries, it is possible to say that, among the monastic ones, the distribution of origins is very balanced: out of 6 breviaries with monastic *cursus* (54,54% of all the 13th century sources), 2 are of Anglo-Norman origin, 2 Norwegian and 2 continental. Among the ones bearing secular *cursus* (3 altogether, 27,27% of all the 13th century sources), 2 are of Anglo-Norman origin and one, BR01, is of

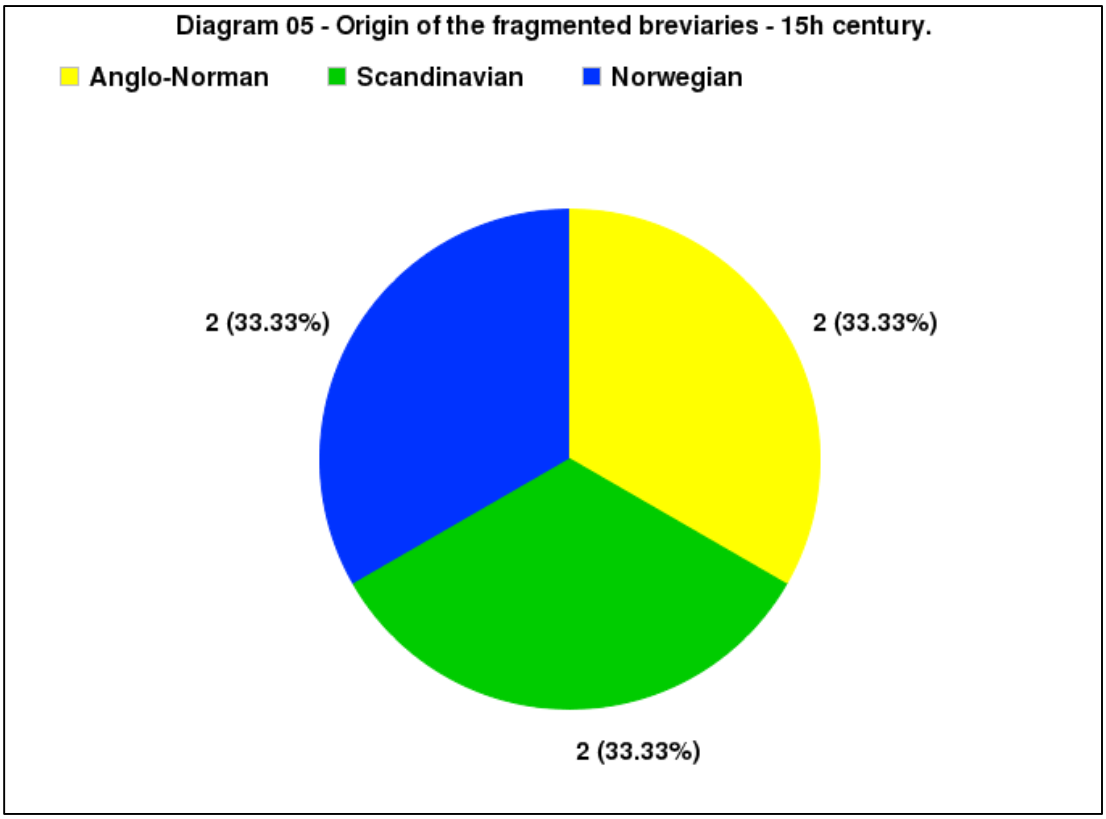
Norwegian origin. Out of the non-classified fragmented breviaries, one was labelled as Norwegian (BR34) and the other as Continental (BR25). However, *grosso modo*, both breviaries can be related to Norway, because BR25 bears a mixture of texts creatively arranged in an unique way, partly following the rubrics of ON, partly following other liturgical uses.

The manuscripts of the 14th century still display the presence of England and Normandy in the formation of the Norwegian Office; however, the numbers show a balance of influences on the text of the Divine Office in this century. The numbers are thin, but still, of the 8 breviaries, 4 (50%) are of Anglo-Norman origin, 3 (37,5%) Norwegian and one (12.5%) Scandinavian.

When analysing the numbers of fragments from the 14th century and dividing them in accordance with the *cursus* of the breviaries, it is possible to say that, among



the secular ones, the distribution of origins is very balanced, as each one of the 3 fragments is ascribed to a different origin: the Anglo-Norman area, Norway and Scandinavia (specifically Lund, according to Gjerløw). Only one Anglo-Norman fragment could be related to the monastic *cursus*, and, in the group of the non-classified ones, 2 out of 4 are Norwegian and 2 Anglo-Norman.



Regarding the six manuscripts of the 15th century, the numbers show a balance of influences concerning the text of the Divine Office. This century is the one with the fewest breviaries; corresponding to only 11,76% of the 51 used in this research; however, it is the single period which shows a real equilibrium of influences on the formation of the Norwegian Office's fragments: 2 are of Anglo-Norman origin, 2 Scandinavian and 2 Norwegian.

Looking at the numbers of fragments of the 15th century and dividing them according to the *cursus* of the breviaries, it is possible to see the absence of sources that could not be classified as monastic or secular. In fact, the 15th century material is also balanced when it comes to the distribution of the *cursus*, as three breviaries are monastic and three secular. Two sources are related to Anglo-Norman religious houses and one is related to Scandinavia (the Swedish monastic order of the Birgittines). Two secular fragments are Norwegian, while one is from Sweden, paralleled with the Breviary of Linköping.

CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this thesis, I proposed myself to answer how the Church in Norway was related the to the liturgical production of the texts for the Divine Office of the European Christendom, to identify where the roots of those liturgical texts were laid for this and, hence, to analyse how the integration between liturgical material developed in Norway and those from abroad took place.

The results obtained demonstrate that the Church in Norway was related to a large range of influences when it comes to the texts of the Divine Office. This was first manifested in the number of books imported from different parts of the Anglo-Norman world and also from the continent and neighbouring Scandinavian areas. However, the presence of local developed liturgical material for the Divine Office and the presence of local produced manuscripts of breviaries allow us to see the growing maturity of the scribal culture in Norway.

As it was said before, in the third part of this thesis, the numbers concerning the liturgical books in the churches, chapters, bishoprics and monasteries of Norway around the year 1300 were indeed impressive. The remains of breviaries existing today in Riksarkivet represent a tiny glimpse of what the liturgy of the Divine Office may once have been in Norway. However, this small number still offers an idea of the cosmos of influences on the Christian community of Norway, the connections it had with other communities and, most important, how these influences and connections were melted together and mixed within the monastic and secular environments of the church in Norway.

It is quite evident that the roots of the Divine Office in Norway were deeply established in a predominantly Anglo-Norman liturgical ground since the beginning of such regular celebrations in Norway, which probably followed the foundations of monasteries and secular chapters. The presence of Anglo-Norman texts in more than 60% of the sources is a clear indication of this statement; besides, this presence was a very stable one, being verified along the 4 centuries of the time frame of this thesis, and, with the exception of the 15th century, representing the majority of the influences traced in the text of the 51 manuscripts. Nonetheless, this Anglo-Norman argument was extremely dissimilar. Salisbury, Worcester, Hyde Abbey, Fleury, Durham were some elements of this diversity whose influence did not decrease along the centuries studied,

what can very well indicate that the contact between different areas of the Anglo-Norman world and the Church in Norway was very constant and continuous.

Other areas of influence whose presence was felt in the analysed texts are related to other parts of Europe outside the Anglo-Norman world, classified here as *Continental*. These areas were mainly central European regions, actually corresponding to the territories of Germany and France. When looking at the four centuries of the proposed time frame, one can see that the sources of continental origin represent a small number, 9,80%, behind only those of Scandinavian origin. By *Continental* origin of the fragmented breviaries, I mean a variety of origins, like the notorious and universal liturgical traditions influenced by the bases of the common European liturgy, the great medieval Sacramentaries: the Gregorian, the Gregorian with supplements, the *Hadrianarum*, and the old and young Gelasians, of common use in all Western Church. Contrary to the Anglo-Norman presence, the number of "purely" continental sources is not constant and already decreases in the 13th century, diminishing in the subsequent periods. I strongly believe that the reduction in the numbers concerning the more traditional and common liturgies, such as the universally known Gregorian, *Hadrianarum* and Gelasian Sacramentaries, has no direct connection to any ignoring behaviour from the part of the Church in Norway, but in fact to the opposite reason. The deeper rooting of the Christian culture in Norway may be the reason for its "disappearance". The common texts of such universal liturgical sources were quickly absorbed and reworked by the Church of Norway. The local appropriation and re-elaboration of these texts created, along with the traces of their very local own celebrations, a typical arrangement of liturgical celebration, which can be observed in the texts of the studied breviaries and also in other sources, such as the *Ordo* and the *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis*; this, along with the sources originated in the Anglo-Norman traditions, contributed to the formation of a new form and to the order of the different parts of the Divine Office. Displayed in the studied fragments, this "new" Office presented itself as European and Norwegian at the same time.

When the common places of the liturgy and Christian celebration were firmly established, the necessity of importing such materials was probably felt no more, since they had become the standard base over the local customs, and those new trends constantly coming from England could be built. This was particularly confirmed by the repetition of many of the most common liturgical texts, lessons and antiphons in manuscripts of attested Norwegian hands.

The growing presence of fragments linked to the local production of books and local arrangement of liturgical texts is also to be observed with care. As early as the 12th century, fragments locally made already appear as being 17% of the sources; this number is comparatively even more accentuated when the material from the 14th and 15th centuries is observed, because this material presents more Norwegian treats than those from previous periods. Fragments bearing marks of distinguished Norwegian scribes and typical Norwegian liturgy are constant too along the studied period. These fragments have one characteristic of their own: basically, they all bring a basic layer of liturgy connected to the two main influences mentioned above, continental and Anglo-Norman, intertwined with the local rubrics from Nidaros, the local celebrations of St. Olav or another more distinctive planning of the lessons, antiphons, hymns, etc. Fragments of BR 52, BR25 and BR34 are good examples of this new way of re-elaboration and display of the Office text.

In conclusion, it is possible to affirm that the Norwegian Divine Office had its roots deeply established in two main trunks of Western European liturgical customs: the Anglo-Norman different uses and the more universal sources of the great medieval Sacramentaries. Besides, the Church in Medieval Norway was indeed imbued with the ideals of its time, especially the conscience of the church dignity related to the Gregorian reform. While the theory of the ecclesiology came from Rome, the practice (the liturgical doing) came from various places. The strong liturgical traditions met in Norway and, inside the Church, in its different environments, were re-elaborated to give birth to some remarkable north-European liturgical use. Albeit the occurrence of non-Norwegian material, including the marked presence of English saints, I could not say that these were traces of a passive importation of liturgical manuscripts. In fact, the opposite is true. The importation does not reveal a passive reception of different influxes, something that could be called a kind of "liturgical colonization". As a matter of fact, this considerable wave of non-Norwegian material was absorbed, re-worked and adapted to attend the needs of the local Church. Paraphrasing the famous statement of Lavoisier, I could say that, in historical liturgy, nothing is wasted, everything is transformed.

There are fragments used in this thesis whose origin was fairly easy to determine, such as those from England or Normandy. There were also fragments which could be easily grouped together, as I suggested when I explained the option of studying them by their *cursus*. These remnants of manuscripts contain significant information

about the medieval liturgy, but above all, about the acquaintances of the medieval Church in Norway. Conversely, they also provide some problems and unanswered questions, such as: how could all these contacts with other Christian communities have reached Norway? Is it possible that a manuscript which looks continental is in fact a production of a good skilled local scribe? I honestly hope that this and other questions are responded in the future with the help of this small contribution, here offered to the amount of knowledge about the medieval Church in Norway and its liturgy.

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http://www.zti.hu/earlymusic/earlym.html

CANTUS PLANUS: A complete data base of the University of Regensburg for research on Gregorian chant. The data files included are: *Antiphonale Missarum Sextuplex*: *Incipits* (from R.-J. Hesbert's edition of six early sources of mass chants); Graduals and noted missals (list of the sources for chants for mass described in *Le Graduel Romain*, II: *Les Sources*, (Solesmes 1957)); Chartres missal (inventory of the noted missal *Chartres Bibliothèque Municipale* 520); Moosburg gradual (inventory of the gradual Munich, *Universitätsbibliothek* 2° 156); York gradual (inventory of the gradual Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. b. 5); Sequence texts (sequence texts from *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*); Antiphoners and breviaries (list of the sources used by R.-J. Hesbert in *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (CAO) vol. 5); Antiphon texts (Full text of antiphons and invitatories edited by R.-J. Hesbert in CAO vol. 3); Responsory texts (full text of responsories edited by R.-J. Hesbert in CAO vol. 4); Hesbert at a glance (Sanctorale) (synoptic tables of chants of the Sanctorale in CAO, Mont-Renaud and Old Roman use, with information on antiphon melodies); Hymn melodies (musical incipits of hymns in three modern editions (Stäblein, Rajecky, Moberg)); Microfilm Archiv Erlangen (Bruno Stäblein Archiv: Selection of sources reviewed in literature); Aquileian and Regensburg Chant database (database of liturgical chants of the medieval Patriarchy of Aquileia and the City of Regensburg (DFG research project, Universität Erlangen)); Offices of the Saints (DFG research project "Die Gesänge der Heiligen-Offizien (Historiae) im Mittelalter"); Responsories for Advent (Search facility for liturgical office books R.-J. Hesbert/ K. Ottosen); Responsories for the Office of the Dead (search facility for liturgical office books K. Ottosen); (Post-Pentecost Antiphons (search facility for series of post-Pentecost antiphons (D. Hiley); Post-Pentecost Alleluias (search facility for series of post-Pentecost Alleluias (D. Hiley)); Post-Easter Alleluias (search facility for series of post-Easter Alleluias (P. Wittwer)); CAO search

(search facility for the texts of office chants edited in R.-J. Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* vols. 3+4); Chant Bibliography (western plainchant bibliography (D. Hiley)); Liturgical manuscripts in British libraries (basic information about ~4400 liturgical books); Liturgical manuscripts in German libraries (basic information about ~10000 liturgical books); Breviaries in French libraries (basic information about ~1000 breviaries (V. Leroquais)); Digitized Microfilm Archive (image galleries of digitised medieval manuscripts); Cantus Augusta (office chants of the monastery St. Ulrich & Afra and the cathedral church Augsburg (R. Klugseder)); Monumenti vaticani (search facility for medieval notation systems edited in H. M. Bannister's "Monumenti vaticani di paleografia musicale latina". Additional basic information about ~1000 Musicalia of the Vaticana (R. Klugseder)). Available in:
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CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant and Office. It is a database that assembles indices of the Latin ecclesiastical chants found in early manuscript and printed sources for the liturgical Office, such as antiphoners and breviaries; it is associated to the University of Waterloo in cooperation with the Charles University in Prague, available in: http://cantusdatabase.org/

OCIDENTALIS: Database of western liturgical texts of the All-Merciful Savior, mission of the Russian Orthodox Church outside Russia. Available in: http://www.allmercifulsavior.com/Liturgy/Liturgics.html